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Workers Will Defeat Fascism In Chile

Fascism has come to Chile.

Early reports coming from Chile show that the workers are fighting bravely against the well-armed fascists' troops. Fighting has broken out all over Chile. In Santiago industrial belts, fighting between workers occupying factories and the fascists went on all day the first day of the coup. It was reported that workers blew up a steel mill near the city of Concepción and part of the El Teniente copper mine. CHALLENGE-DESAFIO learned thru its comrades in Chile that over 500,000 workers are armed and fighting back. Fascism is having a tough time in Chile.

THE BOSSES THERE HAVE STRIPPED AWAY their mask of "democracy" (Chile had one of the most stable bourgeois democracies in the world) and brought about fascism as an answer to the increasing desires of the Chilean working class for a socialist revolution.

They couldn't rely on Allende, nor the sellout "Communist" party, nor their "democracy" to keep the workers' movement down. They had to use their highest form of repression—fascism.

There are many lessons the working class of the world can learn from the fascist upsurge in Chile.

The main lesson is that there is no reformist way of achieving socialism. Only a violent revolution, led by the working class, its allies, and a vanguard communist party, whose aim would be the smashing of the capitalist state and the establishment of a worker's state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) can ultimately achieve socialism.

ELECTIONS, REFORMS, TWO-STAGE NAtionalism, alliance with liberal bosses, reliance on any politicians, or any other myth leads the working class towards the arm of fascism.

Chile is the second example in 1973 (only a few months ago, the government of Uruguay, known as the cradle of "democracy" in the Western Hemisphere, was overthrown by a similar fascist coup) of the failure of revisionism to achieve socialism, thereby highlighting the need for a new communist movement to lead workers to smash all the bosses.

The example of Chile must serve notice on all workers and their friends that revisionism is not just an ideological enemy—but is a deadly cancer that must be destroyed before it causes more damage to millions of us.

A revolution has never been destroyed by the bosses' repression or their armies. The internal enemies inside the workers' revolutionary movement has been the main cause of any defeat. Allende and the Chilean "Communist" Party relied on the bosses and their democracy. Their phony brand of socialism would not allow them to call upon the workers to defeat the reactionaries and their trumped-up "strikes" (truck bosses, business bosses, and all kinds of bosses went out on "strikes" in Chile before the coup). Therefore, they led the workers right into the arms of the fascists. This is a lesson we must assimilate and not repeat.

THE CHILEAN BOSSES AND THEIR IMPERIAList masters were getting prepared before the coup to destroy the growing militancy of the workers here. The bosses forced all kind of demands and formulas on Allende, which he accepted, and the more Allende sold out, the more the bosses demanded. This was their way of paving the way towards a coup.

MAPU, a leftwing revolutionary organization, stated it clearly in the August 17 edition of their newspaper "De Frente:"

> **...the Govt. and the reformist forces have chosen the way of compromising, by means of incorporating the generals into the Cabinet, looking for a pretended "social peace" ...: this has paved the way for counter-revolutionaries and putschists...the sharpening of the class struggle has reached such a level that any conciliatory exit does not solve the crisis. It is only a band-aid... each day the alternative becomes clearer; either a fascist dictatorship or a revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat. Everyday the government becomes more responsible for what the putschists do and will do in the future... thus we must**

prepare ourselves for a long struggle, in which the main basis is the strength of the revolutionaries and of the people.

The U.S. imperialists were helping the fascists all the way. And Allende wasn't even worrying about it. The U.S. gave $10 million a year in aid to the Chilean Air Force, and several U.S. ships were heading towards Chile the same day the coup occurred. The Air Force and the Navy were the main Chilean forces behind the coup.

But the Chilean workers will triumph and will achieve socialism. Chilean workers have a long history of militancy. When the bosses tried a previous coup in June 29, over 500 factories were occupied by workers (Allende was turning the plants back to their bosses). The bosses knew who was the real enemy. Before the coup, the Armed Forces were daily raiding occupied factories, looking for weapons and preparing the stage for a future attack against the workers. Just three days before the coup, the Air Force raided Suma factory in Santiago; the workers responded by shooting at the raiders, and, for two hours, battled the invaders. So the bosses knew it was time to act before the same would happen all over Chile.

The Chilean workers and the revolutionary left had developed an understanding that the only solution was a socialist revolution. Workers' Councils were being set up all over Chile. They are still alive. These workers' councils are the ones that are fighting all over Chile against the fascists. They will grow and eventually will smash all the bosses.

Leftwing revolutionary groups like MAPU and MIR had previously denounced the looming coup as imitative of the "Djakarta Plan," a plan whereby Chilean fascists aimed to repeat what their counterparts did in Indonesia when they slaughtered hundreds of thousands of revolutionaries and workers there.

THE CHILEAN LEFT HAD FAILED TO REALIZE that reliance on the Allende's Popular Front government was a product of unintentioned revisionist thinking and was, therefore, deadly to both the Chilean workers and the international working class

But, we in the Progressive Labor Party and all our friends are sure the workers will triumph in the long run. The working class and our allies all over the world are behind our Chilean brothers and sisters.

PHONEY UNITY DOOMED CHILE

Many folks on the left—and others—often comment about the internal fighting that always goes on in the left-wing movement. Very often many good people suggest "why don't all you people unite instead of fighting one another?", within the left some forces are always prattling about unity.

But one must be careful. Whom do you unite with?

In Chile, many left forces got behind the Allende government. They thought, "well, isn't this type of broad Marxism-socialism better than more capitalism?"

Unfortunately, most of these people are now DEAD. More unfortunately, thousands of workers and peasants are now in jail or dead.

All the revisionists within Chile and outside of Chile united to push the false notion that socialism could be voted in. Within three years the fascists are in power.

The Allende government was a mixture of ruling class forces and other types of "socialists" especially the "communist"party. The workers were not in power. Hence it was not socialism.

Socialism, as described by Marx, Lenin, etc., means the dictatorship of the proletariat, who seize the power by armed force, destroy the old bourgeoise and their state apparatus, and set up their own new state apparatus.

The consolidation and maintainance of power is a problem workers will have to solve by past and present experiences. However, there is no doubt that socialism can never be won in unity with the bosses and their sell-outs on the left. This only means the advent of fascism and death for thousands.

REVISIONISM IS THE H-BOMB OF THE BOURGEOISIE BECAUSE IT ENABLES THEM TO HOLD POWER IN THE NAME OF SOCIALISM. REVISIONISM IS EQUAL TO DEATH AND DESTRUCTION FOR THE WORKING CLASS. THIS IS SOMETHING TO FIGHT OVER. THIS IS A LIFE AND DEATH FIGHT.

Now that the fascists have taken power in Chile, the revisionists will once again call for their "defense committees" to "save" the people whom they led to slaughter. They will raise money, which they will steal for their purposes. They will lead demonstrations for everything but real socialism. A workers' dictatorship, they will say, is "not on the order of the day."

These killers with smiling faces are as bad as any bosses. Anyone who helps create the illusion that socialism can be won by relying on peaceful means is full of crap, crazy, or a downright faker who knows he's going to get good people slaughtered.

Progressive Labor Party statement of August, 1972 (from PL magazine)

WHETHER ALLENDE STAYS OR GOES DEpends on his ability to control the workers, and the fight over tactics in the Chilean and international ruling class on the best way to run a country with a militant workers' movement. When Allende was elected, he was popular with many factions of the Chilean ruling class. Not only did the Christian Democrats and Alessandri, the moderate conservative, throw their parties' votes to Allende in the Congressional election, but Sergio Jarpu of the extreme right-wing Nationalist Party remarked, "We're not prejudiced about what the new government is going to do. If it's good for the country, we'll go along with it even if it has a socialist "label."

Whether a country is socialist or capitalist is a **political question.** It is a question of which class holds power, the workers or the bosses. If socialism could be established by piece-meal nationalizations, then the Post Office, the New York subway system, and the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) would rate as the advance guard of socialism in the U.S. The postal workers, transit workers and workers at the AEC Hanford works are well aware that **it is the bosses and not the workers who are in control.** The bosses never share power with the workers; they don't on an individual factory level and they certainly don't when the whole economy is at stake.

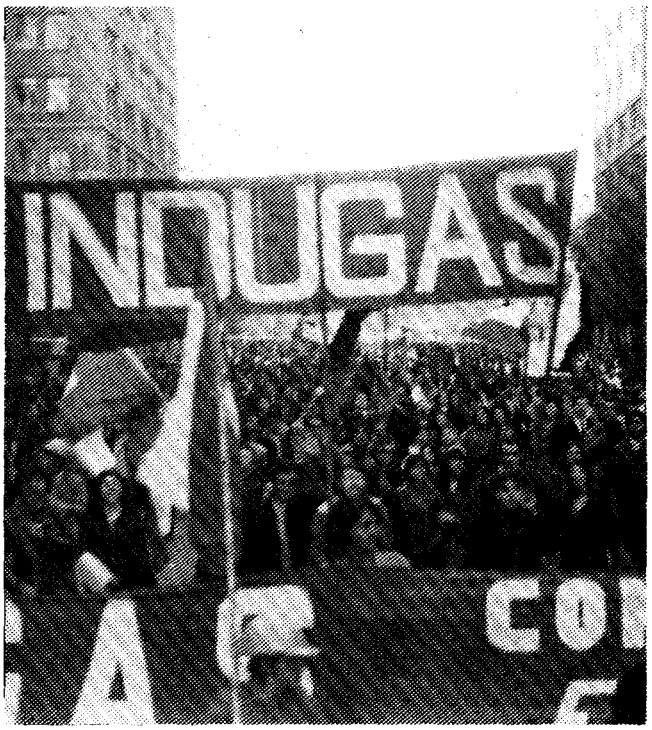
To establish socialism the workers must control everything, (1) the entire economy—finance, transportation, marketing, as well as manufacturing and mining; (2) the entire cultural apparatus—schools, the mass media, entertainment industry; and, as prerequisite of the above, (3) the political apparatus which has as its core the armed forces.

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, IT IS THROUGH armed force that one class maintains its rule over the other. Destruction of the capitalists' armed dictatorship and replacing it with the workers' armed dictatorship over capitalism is the central task in establishing socialism.

The only way socialism can come to power is by violent revolution. Without this revolutionary civil war a few superficial changes may take place in the way a country is run, but the workers will not take power and "revolution" becomes, **at best,** a coup where a small group of benevolent leaders takes the place of a small group of malicious ones.

Whether they are conscious of this fact or not, Allende and his group **cannot establish socialism.** What they have done is to put forward a pretty face with which to cover up the ugly capitalist dictatorship, and secondly to change certain financial relationships within this capitalist framework (in all cases to the **detriment** of the workers and to the further **enrichment** of the capitalists). We in the Progressive Labor Party further maintain that it is impossible to vote in socialism **in any situation.** (This argument is beyond the scope of this article which deals with the particular situation in Chile; we refer the reader to Karl Marx **Civil War in France;** V.I. Lenin, **State and Revolution;** "Road to Revolution II, **PL** V. 5 **#6,** and "Road to Revolution III," **PL** V. 8, **#3;** where this argument is made.)

In the end Allende and his "peaceful road to socialism" will be tossed into the garbage can of history



Pre-coup workers' march against Chilean fascists.

EDITORIAL

Reject Auto Sellout— Bust The Wage Freeze

When the vice-president negotiating for Chrysler says the company "is very pleased with the terms of the contract"– look out! After Chrysler workers forced a walkout Woodcock and UAW hierarchy tried to stop it as quickly as possible. At this writing (Sept. 24) they appear to have succeeded in jamming through the following sellout:

A 15-cents-an-hour "increase" each year for three years, with another 12 cents the first year;

A minimum work-week, including overtime, of 54 hours, with enough loopholes to force it much higher than that anytime Chrysler really needs it, such as when new models are coming out;

The establishment of some vague "machinery" to be worked out "jointly" by Woodcock and Chrysler to "improve health and safety conditions."

No wonder Chrysler's pleased. The 8-hour day is officially scrapped, written into the contract; a 3 to 5 per cent wage "increase" is actually a **CUT** since prices have shot up over 25 per cent just in recent months, to say nothing of what's ahead. There is nothing about the killing pace of speed-up which has sparked so many wildcat strikes at GM and elsewhere, nothing about racist harassment, **and not one change in health and safety hazards.**

The militance of the auto rank and file forced the UAW leadership to call a strike against Chrysler. Make no mistake about it—the Woodcock-Mazey-Frazer gang were preparing to grant a day-by-day "extension" of the contract past the Sept. 14 deadline.

But Chrysler workers knew better. Coming off the recent wildcats at three Detroit plants, especially the Mack Avenue sit-down strike led by members of Workers Action Movement and Progressive Labor Party, thousands of Chrysler workers "jumped the gun," walking out on Friday in Detroit area plants. The fakers heading the UAW would have needed more than the 1,000 goon/union officials they mobilized to break the Mack Ave. strike to force these workers back on a day-to-day basis. So they reluctantly "sanctioned" a strike against the fifth largest manufacturing corporation in the world.

When Chrysler workers voted 97 per cent to strike, they were telling the company and their own piecard "leaders" that only through an all-out effort could they win what they need. In their support for recent wildcats and in their "jumping-the-gun" move on Sept. 14, they were saying they knew the only way to win was via a strike that gave no quarter to the company.

THE WOODCOCK "ANSWER" TO THIS MAN-date is to kill it. Not only did they allow Chrysler to pile up a backlog of new '74 models, to be sold while the workers are out, but they had the gall to keep five Chrysler plants working because they supply parts to GM and Ford. They maintain this is in line with their "target-company" strategy: put "pressure" on Chrysler by allowing GM and Ford to work full blast, threatening Chrysler's share of the market.

The bankruptcy of this "strategy" is revealed by the fact that Chrysler goes right along with it. After all, if Chrysler was so concerned about the "pressure" from increasing GM and Ford sales, they could just as easily close a plant supplying parts to their "enemies." But they join in keeping it going full blast—which all goes to prove that the Big Three work hand-in-hand with the UAW "leaders" in trying to maintain the farce of the "target-company" strategy.

This is the way Woodcoock & Co. "lead" a strike—straight to defeat. In fact, Mazey himself has said in the past that the role of an auto strike is to grind the workers down and get them to accept less than what they are demanding.

A lot is at stake in the struggle in auto. All the organs of the ruling class, from **Business Week** to the **Wall Street Journal** to the **New York Times,** are warning that a long (and militant) strike could "upset" the relative calm forced onto the working class by the wage freeze. Auto sets the pattern for all workers (one in six jobs is directly related to the auto industry). These rulers are

worried that a smashing victory against the wage freeze and for decent working conditions in the auto plants would squeeze their profit picture, and, "worse" yet, set an inspiring example to the rest of the working class of how to win.

Even though UAW bosses succeeded in jamming a "yes" vote through at Chrysler, that's just the beginning of the battle. Chrysler locals still have the right to strike over local grievances, which, if they did so all at once, could lead to still another national and international walkout, which could be converted into one for their real needs. And the same process holds true for Ford and GM. So a proposed sellout at Chrysler (and "pattern-setter" for the Big Three) can be stopped, given the potential power of the auto workers over the whole company.

AUTO WORKERS CAN USE THIS CRUCIAL nature of the industry to their advantage:

— **A COMPLETE SHUTDOWN OF THE BIG 3** would put the whole ruling class on the defensive, shutting off the flow of profits in scores of industries besides auto, and force a far bigger settlement out of the auto billionaires;

—This gigantic victory **CAN** be achieved by organization among and by rank-and-file auto workers. The fact is that rank-and-file leaders **did** seize the initiative and turn things around in the Mack Avenue sit-down strike, just as their predecessors did in the 44-day occupation of GM plants that organized the UAW in 1937. All signs in the past two years—wildcat or rank-and-file-forced strikes at Norwood, Lordstown, Mahway, N.J., Detroit Chrysler plants, etc.—point to the objective fact that auto workers are seething over the squeeze they're in: speed-up, wage roll-backs, racist harassment, forced overtime, widespread health and safety hazards, firings and layoffs.

Auto workers are ready for bold leadership, the kind provided by militants and communists in WAM and PLP in the Mack Ave. sit-down. And there are rank-and-file leaders in scores of plants ready to do battle with the companies. The crucial need is for **CONTACT BETWEEN PLANTS AND COMPANIES** of these rank-and-file leaders to **TAKE THE STRUGGLE OUT OF THE TRAITOROUS HANDS OF THE WOOD-COCK LEADERSHIP AND PUT THE RANK AND FILE IN THE SADDLE.**

The needs and demands of auto workers are clear: a $1.50 an hour wage increase THIS YEAR—smash the bosses' wage freeze; no forced overtime; rank-and-file overseeing of the elimination of all health and safety hazards; control over line speed; an end to racist harassment, the firing of all openly racist supervisors and the upgrading of minority workers into higher-paying jobs; the rehiring of all fired workers.

THE WAY TO WIN THIS PROGRAM IS also pretty clear: strike the Big Three; no local goes back until all settle; no "staggering" of local walkouts, allowing some locals to scab on others; rank-and-file committees in each plant and local, united organizationally with each other across plant and company lines, organized like the Mack Ave. sit-downers, to run the strike from **BELOW,** mobilization of the entire working class behind the pace-setting auto strikers.

What we need is leadership and organization. For our part in PLP and through the Workers Action Movement (which more and more auto workers are joining daily), we can participate in this kind of movement, the kind that communists initially helped built from 1934 to 1941. Communist ideas are precisely those kinds of ideas that put no limits on the workers whatsoever, abide by no ground-rules set down by the bosses' government and lieutenants in the UAW officialdom, and point to the greatest unifying demand of all, 30 for 40—30 hours work for 40 hours pay.

Many might doubt that workers and communists among them can achieve such victories. But our enemies **DON'T** doubt it. **They know we can do it.** That's why they organized such an all-out assault on the relatively small group of workers that carried out the Mack Avenue sit-down. The auto companies, the labor fakers, the whole class of rulers all know that once we get to the first rung of the ladder in taking rank-and-file control of our unions, we're that much closer to the next step.

Mack Avenue teaches us that when workers are determined to fight for their demands and united—black, Latin and white, men and women, communist and non-communist—we can do battle with the biggest billionaires, AND WIN. The bosses got that message. It's up to us workers to carry it to every plant, department and worker in the U.S. and Canada.

International solidarity is a must in this struggle. Right now auto workers in Germany are on the move, battling GM and Ford. This struggle, led by Turkish workers, is against the German bosses' own wage freeze and against racism towards foreign workers. There, too, they have to battle the union sellouts and the government. A united struggle by auto workers from all over the world: Australia, where they just finished a long struggle for a 45 per cent increase against Ford; Great Britain, where Chrysler workers have been battling for months; and also in Spain, France, Japan, South America would give the shakes to these imperialist monsters.

WAM (a U.S.-Canada based rank and file organization) and PLP, a revolutionary communist and internationalist organization with friends all over the world, would be a major force in this struggle here in the U.S.

EDITORIAL

WATERGATE: Nothing Changed; Same Old Billionaires' Dogfight

Since the advent of the Watergate investigations, nothing has occurred to indicate this dogfight between the more established section of the bosses and the newer wing of the ruling class has been of help to workers and our friends.

- Prices have been rising more rapidly than ever;
- There have been occasional flip-flops on price controls—but there has been no vacillation among bosses about maintaining wage controls (these controls are really wage roll-backs as the cost of living far outpaces any wage raises);
- Recently, U.S. bosses and their politicos and their military apparatus, taking advantage of the opportunist Allende government, has openly intervened through their stooges to install open fascism in Chile.

U.S. bosses are doing what they are best at—killing workers and communists.

So those with any illusions can be shown by these and countless other events that the Watergate hearings are strictly an internal battle royal among the industrialists, and that there is nothing to be gained by people choosing sides. In order to detour workers and others from focusing more on their real needs, a great deal of dust is being hurled to block their vision. And of course, for partisan reasons, much of this dirt is used by one side or another within the ruling class.

For example: the great battle of the tapes. We are being told that our fate hangs on whether Nixon does or does not turn over the tapes to the courts. Points of view on this matter coincide with which side of the ruling class the speaker is on.

BUT WHAT IF NIXON DOES TURN OVER THE tapes? What if they prove he planned the entire Watergate affair among others? Do we need tapes to prove that our conditions are worsening? If the tapes prove Nixon is the scoundrel the N.Y. **Times and others claim he is, we will all still have to work the next day for low wages. And we will still have to pay exorbitant prices for everything. Hearing the tapes or not will never break the wage freeze. The wage freeze is unanimously called for by all bosses. They can always unite about screwing us.**

In any event, even if Nixon does turn over the tapes our appetite for behind-the-scene info will probably not be satisfied. By now, these big crooks probably have Howdy Doody on the tapes!

A lot is being made of continued Senate hearings. The big struggle over whether they should continue and for how long seems to be settled. The compromise calls for shortened hearings, keeping the choicest morsels out of the senate chambers.

But what did the previous hearings do for us? Did they break the wage freeze? Did they smash racism? Did they place power in the hands of the workers? Did they promote 30 for 40?

The hearings were an attempt to line up mass support among the people for a gut movement to dump Nixon. However, there was much interest in the hearings. Some insight was shed into how the bosses fight with one another so they can screw us, and hold state power. But the hearings didn't help us one iota at the supermarket. Nor did the hearings put one red cent more in our pay checks. So what difference does it make to us whether the hearings go on?

BY AND LARGE THE LIBERALS WERE NOT able to organize an impeach Nixon movement among any section of the population. While many "left" mouthpieces pasted up stickers, etc., to advocate this route for workers, there were very few followers. This was so because many people were indifferent. But more important, many workers know that the actual fight goes on in the FACTORIES AND IN THE COMMUNITIES AROUND REAL ISSUES THAT DO CONCERN THEM.

However, bosses are growing very concerned about this. Unable to divert fed-up workers through Watergate, they now have to fight more directly on the production line. Bosses were badly rattled by the rank and file upsurge in auto in which members of the Progressive Labor Party played a good role. In a recent issue of **Business Week** they show this concern:

"Unfortunately, UAW leadership has been under increasing pressure from the rank and file to toughen its demands. Chrysler workers are particularly militant about plant safety and discipline, and contract talks are being held against a background of local wildcat strikes against Chrysler.

The union leaders will have to remember that they are negotiating not just a contract with a single company but a wage scale for one of the nation's biggest and most important industries."

So not only are they scared of the workers, but they are admonishing their labor leader stooges to get that sell-out.

Bosses are worried that important working class action for improved wages and conditions will aggravate the already weakened position of U.S. bosses in the world market. This is what Watergate is basically about; how to improve the U.S. position as a world power.

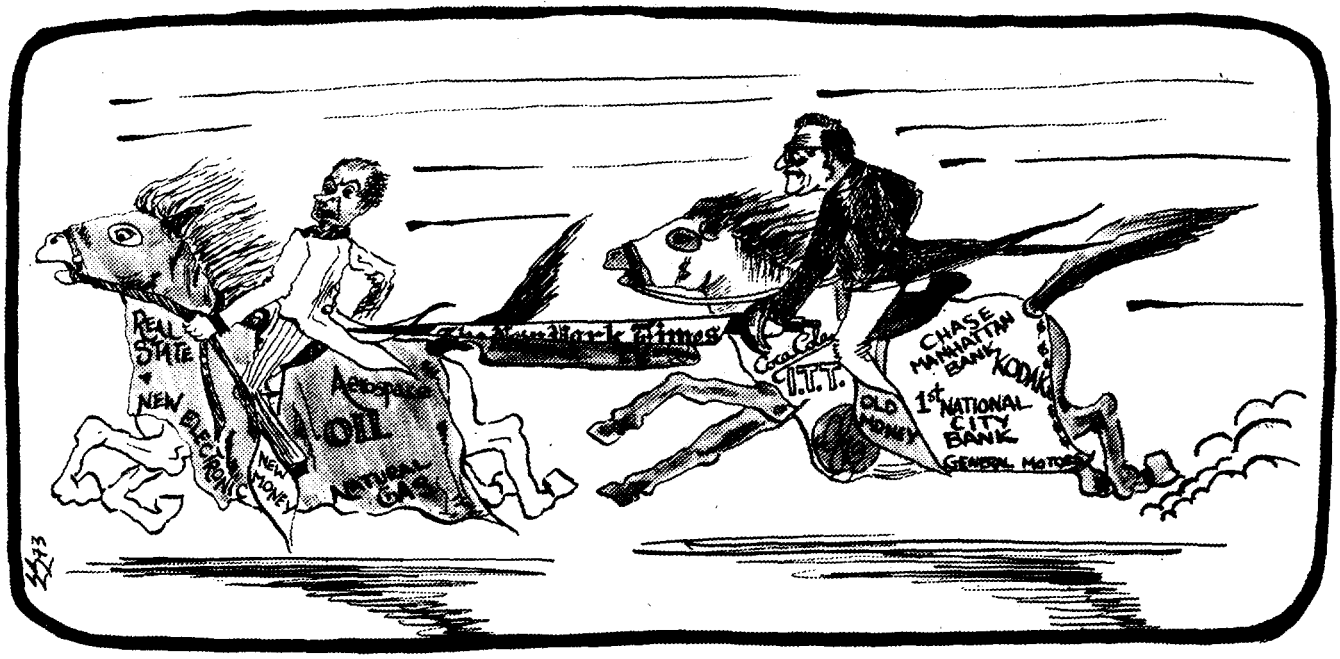
Since the beginning of the Watergate affair, Nixon has been cut down to size. Many of his political cronies have been dumped and some of his policies have been changed in favor of the eastern establishment. The significance of Watergate is shown by the fact that neither section of the ruling class was able to solidify its base among workers. And since the inception of Watergate, we have pointed out who is fighting whom and in whose interest. This has been of some help to workers not to be sucked in.

The big bosses—those that control the eastern establishment and the monopolized industries—have come out far ahead in their fight over controlling the economy and the governmental machinery. The sharpest area of their fight took place in the oil industry. In fuel oil, and in gasoline, they have been able to weaken the newer oil barons. The energy crisis is really a dodge to force the independent producers to their knees by curtailing supplies. The fuel oil shortage is more of the same. The big oil monopolies won't sell to the independents, thus creating artificial shortages. Bosses aren't interested in our health but in profits.

You can't ally with any section of the ruling class. There are no good or better bosses. This is one of the lessons of Chile. In Chile and elsewhere, many people thought you could elect socialism, and have unity with some bosses. Many people are paying with their lives because fake radicals peddled this junk. (These "communist parties" are now just organizing defense committees to save people whom they helped to slaughter.)

Ironically, the revisionists in both Moscow and Peking have allied themselves with Nixon, seeing deep dark plots against themselves because the old money is at odds with the new money. While local "leftists" were calling Nixon a fascist their pals in Moscow and Peking were hailing him as a great statesman."

U.S. workers have shown far more insight into Watergate than all these big brains and "theoreticians" by pursuing the class struggle, and by building up their independent class organizations.



Books and Articles Vital in Fighting Racism, But Direct Struggle Cannot Take Back Seat

To PL editors and readers:

The article "Mobilizing Students, Intellectuals Against Racism: A Perspective" (**PL**, July, 1973) makes the good point that professional intellectuals in the Party ought to engage more seriously in intellectual struggle against racism in their respective academic fields. However, I disagree strongly with some of the arguments given for this proposal, which I think give a very one-sided and wrong view of the strategy needed for building a movement against racist ideology.

The article implies that intellectual activity—i.e. writing books and articles, etc.—is **more important** than more militant forms of struggle against racist ideology. Example:

"The recent **PL** article on the history of racist ideology is an excellent start, but we have not yet played a significant role in the arena that counts: the scholarly journals, symposia, and books that influence professors and hence students. We have to carry the battle to the enemy, not snipe at him from the trees with a few leaflets and sit-ins." (p. 27)

Or, lower on the same page:

". . . The main burden of the struggle falls on professors. Students have led the way, and will make this a **mass** struggle; but without a significantly new anti-racist analysis in the relevant fields we will not win many professors, and hence will discredit the miserable arguments of Banfield & Co. among ordinary students."

On page 28, students and intellectuals are referred to as the "leading forces in all off-campus political activity," and the suggestions is made that the key task in bringing about a resurgence of such off-campus (i.e. working class) activity is to win students and intellectuals to oppose racism.

All this seems to be saying that the activity of professors is much more important than that of students—or even of workers. In addition, the article suggests that, among professors themselves, a fairly lengthy period of intellectual debate is called for before even no-militant forms of struggle will be in order:

"Winning the battle of ideas in the profession is a necessary condition for moving those intellectuals who will sign an anti-Jensen resolution into more material struggles against racism on and off campus—through faculty unions or academic senates, fighting to ban racist books, censure and fire classroom racists, preferentially hire minority faculty, . . ." (p. 27)

Again on page 28, under "What Actions Are Needed," the first three suggestions are for courses, teach-ins, and books; the fourth is "We need to raise sharp questions of banning books and firing teachers from the beginning, when we are the only ones, the 'mad-dogs and left-fascists,' to understand that racism is a life and death matter." Presumably, 'raising sharp questions' is something short of trying to win a demand.

Now, I would agree that the type of intellectual work called for by the article is important. But I would argue that other things are more important in determining whether a mass campus movement against racist ideology comes into being:

First—Student-based campaigns to ban racist texts and teachers, which should probably begin with petitions but will require militant action to win.

Second—Campaigns by professors to make the question of racist teaching and writing **practical** as well as academic. For example, the Committee Against Racism at the University of Connecticut has organized a large number of professors to fight for an official university policy of combatting racist theories and practices. Many academic societies have voted to condemn racist theories—now we should push this a step further and work to have these societies develop active programs of investigating and combating racist theories and racist teaching in their respective disciplines. In the process, we would undoubtedly find it necessary to fight the present leaders of these organizations in order to get programs that really meant something.

Naturally, campaigns like this would require plenty of articles, etc., **as they develop.** But if we decide to carry out a first phase of intellectual debate before we **begin** these campaigns, we'll never reach Phase 2, for several reasons:

1) People never pay as much attention to pure debate as they do if you're actually proposing some action which they have to support or oppose.

2) The question of the role of the bourgeoisie and its state in spreading racist ideology, a key question—as the article acknowledges—from the point of view of building our Party in this movement, is pretty hard to win in the abstract—especially as regards the Kennedy-type liberals who give lip service to anti-racism. But if we really push to get racist profs fired, texts banned, etc.—and the college Administrations, courts and cops react the way they did when we fought to ban ROTC and military recruiters—thousands of students will come to understand these points from their own practical experience.

3) Besides, while we're busy writing books and articles, this same state apparatus is going to be busy smashing us—firing professors, putting them in jail, blacklisting them and their writings, etc. If we're engaged in building a fighting movement, we can grow under such attacks; if we're **only** debating, we'll be left making debaters' points from our cells.

This argument is borne out by the experience of the anti-war movement. The argument that we had to stick to educational work was always an excuse for not taking action—and when we took action (which, of course, also included educational work) it turned out to be good. We **did** err in not doing enough intellectual work, either of the book and article type, or in winning professors to support local campus demands through faculty meetings, etc. This error had the serious consequence that we did not win many professors to PLP. But it did **not** have the effect that "ordinary students" weren't won in large numbers to supporting anti-imperialist struggles on campus, to SDS, and to our Party. The whole anti-war movement showed clearly that students, not professors, are the leading radical force in the campus movement.

Sincerely,

Some members of the
Boston PL faculty club

This dispatch from Hsinhua (the Chinese press service) was on a page devoted to 'favorable events'

STRUGGLE WITH SOVIET UNION KEY TO SHAH'S VISIT

From Hsinhua News Agency—Mohammad Rez Pahlavi, the Shah of Iran, paid a state visit to the United States from July 24 to 27 and had talks with U.S. President Richard Nixon.

A White House ceremony was held on the morning of the 24 in honor of the Shah's visit. Nixon said in his welcoming speech that Iran was "in a very key area of potential threat," and that he would seek the Shah's advice "on all problems affecting this critical area of the world." The Shah of Iran made it clear in his speech that his country was determined to be the guardian of peace and stability in the vast area between the Middle East and South Asia. He stressed that Iran wanted to preserve its sovereignty and independence. He said, "We have to be firm, vigilant and patient, but also must have the strength to defend ourselves."

A Reuter dispatch from Washington on July 25 also reported: "It was known that the Shah is concerned about growing Soviet influence in the Middle East and is anxious to improve Iran's military forces with more arms purchases from the U.S."

China Revisionists Embrace 'Anti-Soviet' Shah While Their Rotten U.S. Buddies See No Evil

To the editors and readers of the PL magazine:

Enclosed is an article from **THE CALL,** a newspaper published by the "October League," a group that claims to be revolutionary and communist but in fact has allied itself with the rotten little group led by Mao Tsetung and Chou En-lai that has taken control of the Chinese Communist Party by gunning down and jailing thousands of genuine revolutionaries that opposed their revisionist policies. This article, which appeared in **THE CALL,** is a reprint of an official Chinese press release, stating the Chinese official position. It shows that revisionism is not just simply some "bad ideas" or wrong positions on "abstract" questions; it is actual **policies** of sellout and betrayal: policies that lead to the murder of the working class and its allies. This article is a clear example.

The Shah of Iran is a vicious dictator and a puppet of U.S. business interests. He has committed genocide against certain groups within Iran, he tolerates no political opposition of any kind, and his government has tortured and murdered thousands of workers, peasants, and students, both revolutionary and non-revolutionary—who have opposed him. The main way he maintains his control is through an ultra-modern army with weapons supplied by the United States government. Yet here is an article applauding the nazistic Shah getting more weapons to use against his own people.

Why? Because the Chinese revisionist leaders don't care what happens to the Iranian people. They are just interested in making alliances with the fascist Shah and with Nixon as part of their plan to please the U.S. bosses and to enable themselves to outmaneuver the Russian bosses and become the new junior partner of U.S. imperialism. If workers and peasants in Iran, Ceylon, Pakistan or anywhere else get in their way, well, it's just too bad for them.

(Of course the Russian leaders are no better; they also give aid to fascist dictators to use against their own people; the Russian leaders would also **love** to get the Shah to be **their** pal against China & the United States.)

In this country, the anti-imperialist Iranian Students Association has led a brave fight to oppose the Shah, even at the risk of their being identified and executed when they return to Iran; these students called a demonstration against the Shah coming to the U.S. to get more weapons. And yet here we see the Chinese press and the October League supporting the Shah's visit for new weapons.

(The other Maoist group, the "Revolutionary Union" criticizes the Shah; but the RU also **does not criticize the Chinese** support for the Shah. This makes the RU's anti-Shah statements nothing but hypocrital bullshit.)

How these finks in the October League have the nerve to honestly look an Iranian student in the eye after this show of support for the murdering Nazi Shah is beyond me. Sure, these scurvy dogs will come up with some phony intellectual bullshit to try to come out smelling clean. But when a group is an apologist for murderous fascism, no amount of fancy words can cleanse them of the reeking stench of the thousands of dead that their buddy the Shah has murdered.

In this country the October League is actually very small and impotent; one of their main leaders was forced to quit SDS after being exposed as a corrupt egotist. They hope that with the support of the Chinese leaders that they can become bigshots within the movement in the U.S; in reality they are already washed up. Their latest alliance with the Nazi Shah should make it clear to anyone who comes in contact with them that they are just a bunch of rotten, self-seeking opportunists who will sell anyone out to make themselves look good in front of their corrupt pals who have taken control of the Chinese Communist Party.

Actually, this contemptable group of impotent finks would not normally be worth wasting this much space on; but workers and students should beware. Who knows what kinds of betrayal they are capable of committing in their desire to please their buddies Mao and Chou, and their newest ally, the Nazi Shah of Iran.

—a friend of PLP

Chilean Defeat Carries Vital Lessons On Building Workers' Revolution

Chile's new fascist bosses are treading down a path well-worn by their predecessors Hitler, Franco, Suharto, and others. They are trying to exterminate all revolutionaries and wipe out Marxism-Leninism. In addition, they are carrying out a racist campaign, killing hundreds of "foreigners," calling for Jews to be "hung from lamp-posts," and blaming communism on a Jewish foreigners' "conspiracy" (Newsweek, **Oct. 1**).

THE FASCISTS ARE BOMBING WORKER-controlled factories and invading workers' neighborhoods with tanks. Thousands of workers are being jailed in stadiums, on ships, and in islands near the Antarctic. Nonetheless, workers continue fighting back all over Chile. The struggle will be protracted, and the working class will take time to reverse this defeat, but in the final analysis, Chile's working class and its allies will defeat their enemies and achieve socialism.

However, there is no escaping the fact that previous reliance on sellouts like Allende and the fake Chilean "Communist" Party will make the fight for socialism more costly and difficult. Workers and revolutionaries everywhere must absorb the lessons of events in Chile.

LESSON #1. The liberals in the dominant wing of the ruling class are the main fascist threat. Allende was elected to the presidency in 1970 because of the upsurge of class struggle in Chile and because Chilean bosses were split into two groups: the liberals (represented by the Christian Democrats) and the old commercial and landowning oligarchy (represented by the National Party). The liberals were the dominant wing of the Chilean ruling class and had the closest ties to U.S. imperialism. In 1970, U.S. business controlled about $1 billion of a total $1.7 billion foreign investment in Chile. In 1970, foreign investors controlled 19% of all Chilean industry and 30.4% of the dominant industries. Despite Allende's "nationalization" program, U.S. imperialism still had $100 million in investments at the moment of the coup.

UNDER ALLENDE, THE NAZI-ONAL PARTY was very much frozen out of power, and the liberals controlled the Congress and the Judiciary. After Allende's election, the National party tried all kinds of coups, along with ITT and the CIA. U.S. imperialism also attempted an anti-Allende "invisible blockade." However, for the sake of appearances and ruling-class unity, the liberals went along with him.

Within Allende's united front, some forces in the left and the working class saw the Allende movement as a means of building up a revolutionary rank-and-file led mass organization. Allende and the "C"P attacked these forces as "ultraleftists," calling them provocateurs, and sometimes killing them, but as previous CHALLENGE issues have pointed out, the mass movement continued to grow.

AFTER AN ABORTIVE FASCIST COUP ON JUNE 29, the Chilean working class took matters into its own hands, armed itself by the thousands, and began to seize many more factories. Workers formed councils and joined with peasants and housewives and students in Common Councils. These councils put forth many demands—including full payment to housewives. Workers were preparing themselves for a final confrontation with the big bosses, and workers' power was becoming a reality all over Chile.

Nonetheless, "socialist" Allende again decided to deal with the bosses. He agreed to surrender many of the factories now being run by workers. On July 19, thousands of workers showed what they thought of this surrender by blocking the avenue leading to the Vicuna Mackanna industrial section. Jose Arroyo, a worker and member of MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left), was murdered by the police. On July 24, thousands of workers in the Barranca Communal Council took the streets to demand better food distribution, the expropriation of all big wholesalers and retailers, and for a general strike. They held the streets for 24 hours.

A SIMILAR REBELLION WAS TAKING PLACE all over Chile. Patricio Romo, a young worker who was chairman of the Communal Council, told a **CHALLENGE** reporter in August: "Allende blamed this mobilization on a few 'hotheads,' and when thousands of workers heard about this on national radio, they were hopping mad." He also told a MIR reporter: "The reformists repress us because without any doubt, we and the action by the Council are an obstacle to their dialogue with the bosses . . . reformism has never been interested in talking to the people . . . reformism sees in our actions, in the soviets we are creating, a serious danger to their plans for reconciliation."

Strangely Friendly with Salvador Allende

Sometimes you have to wait for the funeral to see who your best friends are. And a motley collection of mourners showed up for the wake of "socialist" Allende. Leading the chorus at the wailing wall was none other than Willi Brandt, Chancelor of the very capitalist West German Federal Republic. Juan Peron was another loud protestor; he had not been so broken up since his good friends Mussolini and Hitler kicked the bucket. Francois Mitterand, the darling of the French ruling class and the next Prime Minister of France, was livid in his denunciations of the military coup. More circumspect in their protestations were the Soviet social-imperialists who were sorry about their friend Allende's demise but anxious not to offend their "detente" partners in Washington. However, their Cuban minions didn't share these anxieties and were practically hysterical. Officially inspired protest demonstrations took place in Germany, France and Italy.

From a film-rental ad in the N.Y. Review of Books

INTERVIEW WITH PRESIDENT SALVADOR ALLENDE

1971. Color. 31 mins. Directed by Saul Landau and Haskell Wexler. 16 mm prints only.

The popular election of a Marxist government in Chile in 1970, and its subsequent struggle for survival, has fascinated the entire world. At its center is Salvador Allende: an ex-doctor and parliamentarian, quiet, middle-class, reasonable and disarming. In short, the antithesis of most revolutionary leaders. Filmmakers Saul Landau and Haskell Wexler interviewed him at his home in Santiago and revealed both his humanitarian drive to reform Chile and his persistent sense of humor in the face of countless obstacles. – Tom Luddy

The workers realized who their enemies were—to a great extent. The bosses recognized this and began setting the stage for the coup. All kinds of businessmen and shopowners went on "strike." Terrorism against workers was rampant. Soldiers and sailors sympathetic to the left were purged and tortured. The army raided worker-controlled factories daily, killing many. Meanwhile Allende agreed to every demand the bosses made of him. The liberals thought they could use him until 1976: they thought he could block the workers' leftward movement. Finally, however, they saw that no sellout force could accomplish this—and they dumped him in favor of open fascism.

THE GENERALS DIDN'T ACT INDEPENDENTLY: they carried out their masters' wishes. U.S. imperialism gave the final green light. The U.S. ambassador rushed back to Santiago after hurried consultations with Kissinger a few days before the coup. The "Popular Front" was smashed, as two popular fronts of unity with liberal bosses had been overthrown by the army in the 1930s in Chile. Past lessons were useful to Chilean bosses: they remembered from their own experiences as well as from the experiences of Uruguay in July 1973, of Bolivia in 1971, and of Indonesia in 1965, that "communists" who united with them are setting themselves and the working class up for the kill.

Many people argue that Allende couldn't do anything because if he had acted to mobilize the masses, the big bosses would have overthrown him before. But he knew beforehand there was going to be a coup. He told everyone that a coup was imminent. Nonetheless, he led the workers straight into the jaws of fascism. How could militant action have brought about a situation worse than the one Chile's workers face today? Revisionist-inspired accommodation with the bosses—any wing of bosses—is deadly to workers.

OVER 125 YEARS AGO, KARL MARX ADVISED German workers that boldness and initiative were key in gaining strength in the class struggle. The advice still holds true today:

"The defensive is the death of every armed rising; it is lost before it measures itself with its enemies. Surprise your antagonists while their forces are scattering, prepare new successes, however small, but daily; keep up the moral ascendency, which the first successful rising has given you; rally those vacillating elements to your side which always look out for the safer side; force your enemies to retreat before they can collect their strength against you; in the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known—BOLDNESS, BOLDNESS, AND MORE BOLDNESS."

MARX WAS RIGHT. THE PERIOD OF FASCISM'S preparation can also be a period of preparation for revolution. If revolutionaries are alert to the signs of the impending coup and are ready to break with the "sanctity" of the bosses' constitution, they can strike the first blow, thwart the fascists' counter-revolutionary plans, and establish rule by the revolutionary working class. In 1917, the Bolshevik Party in Russia sensed an uprising by monarchist generals. It did not wait for the generals to strike the first blow and then rally to the defense of the social-democratic government. Instead, they moved first, overthrew the vacillating fake-socialists and national capitalists, established workers' power, and prevented the fascist coup.

But Allende, because of his commitment to the bosses and the status quo, was not the man for this task.

LESSON #2: All imperialist bosses no matter how they portray themselves, are pure poison to the working class. Allende's death has been mourned by every political hack from fascist Balaguer in the Dominican Republic to liberal Willi Brandt in Germany. In Argentina, Peron used Allende's death as a cover to start a massive "mop-up" of all leftists. He wants to guarantee that Argentina will be returned to European imperialism with as little disturbance as possible. On the other hand, Washington was happy to see Allende go. Shares of Kennecot and Anaconda Copper skyrocketed immediately after the coup. Agnew's men gave the game away when they confided in **Newsweek** that they feared Nixon would use the "crew that did Allende in" against Spiro.

Why are the U.S. imperialists happy about the coup, while the Common Market and Soviet imperialists are unhappy? In the recent period, inter-imperialist rivalry has sharpened. But today empires are challenged and broken up not by invasion, but by proxy—by nationalist "revolution," election of "socialists," or coup and counter-coup. In the past two years, we've seen Bangla Desh (a victory for Soviet imperialism), the "cultural" revolution in Libya (a victory for Franco-Italian imperialism), this year's coup in Afghanistan (chalk up another for the Soviets), and the return to power of Peronism in Argentina (score one for German imperialism). All these nations, at one time or another under U.S. control, now have fallen under Soviet or Common Market sway to one extent or another. The Allende government was supported by the wing of the Chilean bourgeoisie that wanted to exchange U.S. rule for Common Market and/or Soviet tutelage. The military coup in Chile is a blow against this global trend and has at least temporarily remanded Chile to the U.S. imperialist "back yard." However, U.S. imperialism's increasingly desperate situation is indicated by the fact that U.S. moguls are forced to rule through naked fascist terror while their European and Soviet competitors are able to use popular nationalists or fake socialists as stand-ins.

WHILE INTER-IMPERIALIST RIVALRY CON-tributed a great deal to the coup, fear of the Chilean working class was the major motivation of the fascist generals, their local bosses, and the masters in Washington. Thus, the U.S. ruling class has added another dark chapter to the book of its genocidal crimes against the people. We shall not forget when the time comes to even the score.

LESSON #3: The need for a truly revolutionary communist party and a new international commun-

ist movement. The Chilean left (MIR, MAPU, and thousands of militant workers) had developed a clear understanding of the need for socialist revolution. They had discarded the theory of "peaceful transition" to socialism, "Two-stage" revolution, alliances with the "national bourgeoisie," and other revisionist myths. In the program hammered out at its second Congress last December, MAPU stated: "...the only true revolution can be a socialist one...any reforms will lead only to state capitalism, even to fascism, as in Indonesia." The Chilean left knew that Allende and the "C"P with its "two-stage" theory intended only to make capitalism better.

NONETHELESS, THE CHILEAN LEFT HAD certain illusions about using the Allende Popular Front to build a new communist party. MAPU did participate in the Popular Unity government. Then MAPU was split by the "C"P after taking a leftward course. MIR "critically supported" Allende until August—finally repudiating him for "capitulating" and calling for a "solid revolutionary social bloc that will assure the victory of the working class and the people."

This was a positive development, but it came too late. Had it happened earlier, it might have prepared Chile's workers and their allies to take revolutionary action against the impending coup. Workers must rely only on themselves and their own class organizations. The Chilean left and the workers of Chile are suffering the tragic consequences of their failure to grasp this law of class struggle.

BUT THE WORKING CLASS ALWAYS BOUNCES back from its defeats. Struggle in Chile and all over the world will continue. Chile's workers will build a revolutionary communist party, as groups like MIR and MAPU had wanted to do. This development will enable the workers to smash the fascists and their liberal imperialist masters.

The need for a new international communist movement has never been more apparent. Virtually all of Latin America is under the fascist boot. In Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia, Brazil, Libya, Indonesia, and elsewhere, the fascists are carrying out an extermination campaign against revolutionaries.

MORE THAN EVER, WE IN PLP BELIEVE that our class can win and that international revolution will triumph. But in order to win, we need the international leadership. The survival of our class depends upon this development.

FOOTNOTE: Chile's goose-stepping generals have announced that they will treat all workers who continue to resist "without pity." All right. We don't want or need your pity—or anyone else's. When the shoe is on the other foot, we will deal with you and your class likewise—without pity. And we won't "even" the score. The working class will come out far, far ahead!

Another pre-coup workers' march in Chile. Defeat resulting from false unity with liberal bosses paved way for fascist takeover and proves that workers' strategy must be revolution and socialism— with no compromise.

1971 Interview Shows up Revisionist Leadership

Allende Demobilized Workers, Trusted Bourgeoisie

I come back to my earlier question, comrade Allende; the workers behind you have voted you into office, but if I ask you how and when you are going to win real power, what is your answer?

Allende: My answer is that we shall have real power when copper and steel are under our control, when saltpetre is genuinely under our control, when we have put far-reaching Land Reform measures into effect, when we control imports and exports through the State, when we have collectivized a major portion of our national production. I say 'a major portion' because in our programme we announced frankly to the nation that there would be three sectors in the economy: nationalized industry, a mixed sector and the private sector. Now then, if these things – affirming our national sovereignty, recovering our basic wealth and attacking monopolies – do not lead to Socialism, I don't know what does.

The sceptics and the prophets of doom will say that it is not possible. They will say that a parliament that has served the ruling classes so well cannot be transformed into the Parliament of the Chilean People.

Further, they have emphatically stated that the Armed Forces and the Corps of Carabineros, who have up to the present supported the institutional order that we wish to overcome, would not consent to guarantee the will of the people if these should decide on the establishment of socialism in our country. They forget the patriotic conscience of the Armed Forces and the Carabineros, their tradition of professionalism and their obedience to civil authority.

Debray: Shall we look back at something else. Given the circumstances; since the programme of the Popular Unity was known from before the elections, and since your personality, and particularly your recent political career, were also well known, how do you explain that the bourgeoisie, well, the Right, the other side shall we say, split its vote by putting up two candidates?

Allende: Pride. In the case of the Right, insolence. And, in general, an inadequate understanding of the interplay of opposition between sectors of society.

Debray: If they go outside the law, will you also go outside the law? If they hit out, will you hit back?

Allende: If they deal us an illegal blow? We'll return it a hundredfold, you can be sure of that.

Debray: One thing has surprised me: this is the relative absence of mobilization of the people. Certainly, there was a great mobilization of the people at the time of the elections, but it seems to me that it has now fallen off. My question is therefore: how do you propose to transform this electoral mass into a revolutionary mass?

Allende: Look, before answering, I want to tell you that what you say is true, but only to a certain degree.

Have you read Lenin's *State and Revolution*?

Allende: Yes, of course.

Debray: Good, because we'll probably discuss it a little later on.

Allende: In many of my speeches in Parliament, I have quoted passages from this work and earned criticism from the spokesmen of the reactionary press as a result. One such newspaper, *El Mercurio*, reproduced paragraphs from one of my speeches and from Lenin's book as an illustration of my intention, naturally, to 'suppress the bourgeois State'. I think that basic works like *State and Revolution* contain key ideas, but they can't be used as a Catechism. I said it just before our victory. The revolutionary struggle may be found in the guerrilla *foco* or in urban insurrection; it may be the people's war and it may be an insurgence through the polling booths; it depends on the content it is given.

In other words, can the same Court which yesterday interpreted the Law in favour of the estate-owners interpret it today in favour of the peasants without the Court itself changing? Can the same police forces who yesterday ejected people from the estates they occupied now turn to the defence of the oppressed?

Allende: We have proposed reforms to the Courts of Law and we shall reform the laws. By implementing Constitutional Reform, we shall bring about changes in the judiciary and, as I have told you, in the event of a proposal for a reform of the Constitutional Charter being totally rejected, we shall resort to the plebiscite, and we shall win.

Debray: Does a socialist militant change when he becomes Head of State?

Allende: No. I believe that the Head of State who is a socialist remains a socialist, but his actions must be consonant with reality.

Debray: It really is something new to find a socialist in power who still feels and acts as a socialist! There aren't all that many examples of this, comrade.

Allende: I know, unfortunately this is true. Nor are there many socialist parties which are Marxist in the true meaning of the term.

Debray: Returning to the theme of class confrontation, and if I may give you my personal view, I rather doubt that the Right would be stupid enough to provoke an immediate break. Do you not think that there is more to fear from the silent protest of the bourgeoisie?

Excerpts from a MIR criticism of the revisionist Chilean Communist Party

THE COMMUNIST PARTY: REFORM OR REVOLUTION?* (excerpts)

BY GLAURIS FERNÁNDEZ

* Translated and abridged from *Punto Final* No. 91, November 11, 1969.

This critique contains an energetic attack from a MIRist perspective on the reformism of the Communist Party of Chile. State capitalism can be transformed into socialism only if political forces are committed to a revolutionary political practice aimed at destruction of the bourgeois state. The CP, Fernández argues, is not so committed. It has lost its revolutionary vision, has adopted a conciliatory attitude toward class enemies of the revolution, and seeks alliances with middle- and small-bourgeois elements

Under the hegemonic rule of the United States, the world's capitalist system has seen the growth and concentration of monopoly capital and the extension of its tentacles into the very heart of dependent countries, thus increasing the original dependency at all levels of dependent economies and preventing any possibility of autonomous capitalist development.

It is utterly senseless to propose an anti-imperialist struggle that is not at the same time anti-capitalist, when Latin America as a whole (and especially Chile, where this integration process has reached incredible levels during the past four years) faces such a conjuncture.

A viable anti-capitalist strategy cannot count on the petty bourgeoisie as a class ally. A correct Marxist strategy should rather attempt to neutralize it in order to insure a favorable transition to socialism. Indiscriminately to select the petty bourgeoisie as a class ally in the present conjuncture, and to limit the revolutionary struggle to bourgeois democratic objectives such as a mixed regime of state capitalism (the "non-capitalist" way proposed by the CP's program) is to cultivate a dangerous illusion that does not correspond in any way to the reality of our class structure. It is to transform the proletarian struggle into the utopian vision of the petty bourgeoisie.

Workers' Communal Council in Barracas, Chile

With such statements, the Chilean Communist Party foments the illusion that it is possible to advance gradually without first attacking the capitalist system, which is the very basis and condition of existence of imperialism itself. The program overemphasizes the contradictions that oppose the national bourgeoisie to imperialism. Such contradictions do indeed exist, but they are non-antagonistic: they will disappear when the bourgeoisie finally confronts the popular movement. By presenting to the masses such historically exhausted and vacillating forces as allies, the Communist Party does not develop popular combativeness. Even when it organizes its festive, carnivalesque marches against capitalism, the Communist Party does not prepare the people finally to resolve the question of power, which is fundamental if one is to build and live socialism. Capitalism is made to appear as a valid system so long as it is divested of its most glaring defects.

State capitalism is today the greatest ally of monopoly capital. How then could one expect the creation of a vast sector of state capitalism to lead automatically and mechanically to socialism? State capitalism can be progressive and lead to socialism only if it is committed to a revolutionary political program aiming at the destruction of the bourgeois state itself, in its military and civilian garb, and the construction of socialist society on radically different grounds. Today's Communist parties have lost the clear revolutionary vision that sprang forth from the Third International. Remember that it was then the question of the state that divided Communists from social democrats. The latter forgot the dictatorship of the proletariat, while the former upheld firmly at the very core of their constitution the strategic primacy of the *destruction* of the state.

Is the thesis that a popular government will reach power electorally a truly Communist one? And is the proposal to maintain a regular "professional" army, thus reinforcing the state bureaucratic apparatus and guaranteeing it the greatest privileges? Is it truly communistic to maintain party pluralism without first demanding the exclusion of all bourgeois parties and their allies? Can those who affirm that such a government can pass to socialism "within a continuous and smooth process" call themselves Communists?

Were all the theoretical efforts of Marx, Engels, and Lenin in vain? Should the historical lessons of social democracy and labor governments be repressed from our memories? Should all the failures of populist/nationalist governments in Central America, the Peróns, the Vargases, the MNRs, the Cárdenases, the Arévalos, the Goularts, simply be forgotten? . . .

In the name of "the interests of Chile," the Communist Party leaders openly support a *"modern, patriotic, and popular conception* of the defense of our national sovereignty that guarantees *to all sectors* of the Armed Forces the *material and technical means* necessary to fulfill their *specific mission,* which requires guaranteed economic security, professional training, and rank mobility to *all officers and troops* by means of adequate remuneration compatible with their qualifications and needs during service as well as in retirement. We support the *professional* character of the Armed Forces . . ." (emphasis ours).

As for the "professional character" or the "specific function" of the Armed Forces, only petty bourgeois reason is unable to understand that there can be no apolitical "professionalism," that the bourgeois's nation cannot be that of the proletariat, and that bourgeois domination rests securely behind such mystifying veils. . . .

f) Finally we must discuss the Party's conception of popular unity. While it is true that unity must be achieved and that sectarianism opposing allies must be curbed, it is also true that there can be no true unity without a common goal. Only a truly revolutionary unity that refuses to make any concessions on matters of principle, only a unity that seeks not to reform but rather to deepen the system's contradictions, must be sought.

Chilean workers seize factory. Fascism will only fan the flames of class struggle. Revolution will win!

CHILEAN COUNTRYSIDE: MIR MANIFESTO EXPOSES CP LINE

POLICY OF THE MOVEMENT FOR A REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MIR) IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, AN ANSWER TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE—a declaration by the National Secretariat of the MIR, Santiago de Chile, 1972.

The following is an abridged version of the answer by the MIR (published in a pamphlet) to the Chilean revisionists' program towards peasants. The answer is a good lesson for all revolutionaries on how the revisionists are no friend of either workers nor peasants. (Translation by PLP.)

INTRODUCTION

The leadership of the Communist Party (CP) has decided to make their fundamental task a systematic attack on the MIR. They refuse to lead the struggles of the workers and peasant masses, and they concentrate themselves in a frontal fight against the MIR and the revolutionary currents, while they talk with the enemies of the people; the bosses' fascism, the Christian-Democrat fascism.

WHY DO THEY ATTACK THE MIR?

The CP has lost the ideological struggle in the left. Therefore they use ideological tricks, myths such as the deformation of the class structure in the countryside. They have invented a countryside plagued by land oligarchs, landlords, absentee landowners that live in Europe and who own large tracts (over 80 hectares). From this myth, they have concluded that the other fractions of the agrarian bourgeoisie have contradictions with these landlords, and that the task is to unite all the classes in the countryside to isolate and defeat this powerful enemy.

This "brilliant" analysis of the classes in the countryside calls forth a wrong policy that takes away the autonomy of the peasants' movement, subordinates it to bourgeois politics. With the power that this "immense force of theory" gives to them, they tie and hold down the struggle of the agricultural workers to a fight against the big landlords only. In that way they demobilize the peasant movement, try to put a brake on the struggle of the countryside poor. They leave them without leadership. Worse, they attack those peasants that fight against sections of the big agrarian bourgeoisie who are not landlords. They even make a political crime out of the mobilization of the peasants against the owners of **fundos** (land property) of over 80 HRB (hectares of basic irrigation), fundos that the leaders of the CP don't want to expropriate during this first year of government.

The result has been the isolation of the CP from the peasants, forcing the peasants to look for other forms of political representation. The CP has suffered defeat after defeat in the peasant movement, in elections, etc.

CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The fundamental contradiction in the Chilean countryside is between the big agrarian bourgeoisie—which owns land **and** capitalist businesses. Its income derives from renting land **and** from the exploitation of hired agricultural labor.

There is another section formed by agricultural businessmen who lease the land to the agrarian bourgeoisie. Their income actually comes from capitalist profit, e.g. the unpaid work of agricultural workers.

Finally, we have a section of the agrarian bourgeoisie in decline, the landlords, who lease out land to smaller holders and gain incomes from rents.

THE CAPITALIST COMMERCIAL BOURGEOIsie is the biggest and most important section of the countryside bosses.

These three aforementioned factions of the big agrarian bourgeoisie can be found in fundos with more than 80 hectares as well as in the ones between 40 and 80 hectares.

Merciless exploiters of the agricultural proletariat, usurpers and thieves of the lands of poor peasants, the owners of the big fundos and the

combined big agrarian bourgeoisie are the main reason for the backwardness of Chilean agriculture. Today they are the main saboteurs of agricultural production, deadly enemies of the poor peasants and of all the people.

SMALL AND MIDDLE AGRARIAN BOURGEOISIE

This middle group has some secondary contradictions with the big bourgeoisie. These contradictions are caused by the policies of agricultural prices, the control of markets, the access to credits, control of the agroindustry, etc. There is also in the countryside a small and medium commercial bourgeoisie, a small proprietor bourgeoisie and middle strata.

POOR PEASANTS AND THE SEMI-PROLETARIAT

In the Chilean countryside, besides the fundo, there is another productive form of material goods with enormous importance: small subsistence production. This form of production gives birth to the poor peasants and to the agricultural semiproletariat (landless peasants).

THE POOR PEASANTS LACK THE MEANS of production. Mainly they lack adequate land. These peasants work with family hand labor. They do not exploit salaried labor. They produce just enough to survive. They have an antagonistic contradiction with the agrarian bourgeoisie that holds the land monopoly. Their main driving force is towards the ownership of the land.

THE AGRICULTURAL SEMIPROLETARIAT, generated by a peasant economy in crisis, have a double link to production. They sell their labor in a temporary or occasional form, and are also small subsistence producers. These virtually landless peasants own an infinitely small amount of very poor land. Working this piece of land is not enough for their subsistence, so they have to hire themselves out. They are a very explosive section in the countryside. They suffer an accelerated and intense process of proletarization. Therefore their main driving force is not so much for access to the land but for the right to a permanent and stable job.

THE AGRICULTURAL PROLETARIAT

The agricultural proletariat in its different sections (tenants, "free" laborers, and outsiders —afuerinos) constitutes the immense majority of the active population in the Chilean countryside. They are workers who live by selling of their labor mainly to the owners of the big fundos.

Since the main cause of the misery and backwardness of the Chilean countryside is the big bosses' monopoly over the land and other means of production, there is the basis for an objective alliance, due to their coincidence of interests between the agricultural workers and the poor peasants—an alliance to fight against the big bourgeoisie to smash their monopoly over the land.

CLASS STRUCTURE IN THE COUNTRYSIDE OF LINARES PROVINCE

	No. of People
Enemies of the people:	
the big agrarian bourgeoisie	
Owning or leasing fundos,	
40 to 80 hrb.	815
over 80 hrb.	1,334
total	2,159
Sections to be neutralized:	
the small and medium agratian bourgeoisie	
Medium bourgeoisie	998
Small agrarian bourgeoisie	4,174
Businesses, middle-class employees, etc.	1,376
Poor people in the countryside:	
worker-peasant alliance	
Poor peasants	5,303
Semiproletariat	7,637
Agricultural workers	26,627
total	36,567

THE PEASANTS' MOVEMENT

Another factor that marxists have to analyze in order to carry out a correct policy is the character of the peasant struggles, history of their organization and uprising, the way they perceive the confrontation, the psychology and the class consciousness reached by the agricultural workers.

The peasantry has been one of the main actors of the social fight in our country in the past twelve years.

During the rise of this movement during the beginning and middle 60s, a Christian Democrat (DC) fraction wanted to use it for its own purpose—as storm troopers in their struggle with other sections of the ruling class, to modernize capitalism in the countryside. The DC wanted to create by means of an agrarian reform a middle bourgeoisie that would serve as a brake to the class struggle in the countryside. The DC wanted to limit the struggle to a fight against the absentee landlord—main cause, according to their thinking, of the backwardness in the countryside. This policy, of course, did not include mass peasant mobilizations, left out all poor peasants and the semiproletariat, all the "afuerinos" and "free" workers. But the increase in the class struggle in the countryside left behind the bourgeois reformism of the DC.

Strikes and land takeovers became more frequent. The peasant movement became more independent and the struggles stopped being struggles between different bourgeois sections and became more and more struggles by workers and poor peasants against the big agrarian bourgeoisie. The peasant movement began to acquire a distinct consciousness of its objectives, of its class enemies, of its potential allies, and of the kind of struggles that it would have to use.

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT IN THE POPULAR UNITY (UP) GOVERNMENT

The coming of the UP gave impetus to the peasant movement. It grew. The worker-peasant alliance got stronger all over the country. Strikes and land takeovers multiplied. Extralegal forms of the struggle of the peasantry intensified.

ILLEGAL OCCUPATIONS FROM JAN. 1, 1968 to JUNE 15, 1971

	1968	'69	'70	'71
Land takeover by squatters	8	23	220	175
Workers' takeover of industries	5	24	133	339
Fundo takeovers by peasants	16	121	368	658
Establishment occupations by students	166	10	102	382

The peasant movement repudiated the DC agrarian reform as well as the CP agrarian policy. In the last years, not only land tenants, but afuerinos, landless peasants, Mapuche indians, and small subsistence proprietors all over the country joined the class struggle in the countryside. This made the new peasant movement completely different socially from the old movement in the '60s, a movement that acquired a growing autonomy and a clear revolutionary character.

For these peasants, the main enemy became not the one established by the DC (landlord with over 80 hrbs.), but the group comprising the big agrarian bourgeoisie, whose central force was the big commercial agrarian bosses, owners of the land and of capitalist firms. The mobilizations started to surpass the agrarian reform of the DC **favored by Allende's UP government.** It was obvious that to limit themselves to these laws was to put a straitjacket on the peasant movement. Upsurges by the peasant movement left behind the CP machine, opposed the government program, and led to growth of a new countryside organization—the Revolutionary Peasant Movement (Movimiento Campesino Revolucionario, MCR).

A LONG HISTORY OF GOVERNMENT REpression and populist cheating had, through the years, left the peasants' movement in disarray, and had increased the class hatred of the peasants as their misery grew. As soon as these peasants found a small crack in the wall of exploitation, the agitation in the countryside spread like a land irrigation system.

The peasants' insurgency spread to Cautin among the Mapuches, landless peasants plagued by misery and hunger and threatened by extinction as a group. The agitation extended to the south, to the border region, to Los Lagos where poor peasants rose up. The lumberworkers of Panguipulli rose up in struggle, farmworkers of Valdivia, Rio Bueno, Lanquihue and Puerto Montt. All over Chile the class struggle sharpened in the countryside.

The CP denied help to the peasants, and now want to put a brake to their militancy. The peasants organized themselves democratically, controlled by the rank and file. They are embryos of the power of farmworkers movement. Their power has hit the agrarian bosses badly. The Peasants Communal Councils are waiting to exercise full power in their localities. And for that they can rely on their own basic strength, taking direct initiative if it proves necessary.

THE MIR AGRARIAN POLICY

The objective of MIR policy is not to maintain an equilibrium between exploited and exploiters; it is not to protect sections of the big agrarian bourgeoisie, nor to presume in this stage to expropriate the small and medium bourgeoisie. Nor do we call upon workers to increase production to benefit a few, while the big bourgeoisie still exploit the many. The main objective of our politics in the countryside is to increase political strength, to change the relation of forces, mobilizing farmworkers and poor peasants to frontally attack the big agrarian bosses, while we look to neutralize the small and medium bourgeoisie. This means strengthening the worker-peasant alliance, developing the basis for a new power in the countryside, the power of the workers, the power of the poor peasants; worker-peasant power.

Our policy is therefore oriented to hit the whole of the big bourgeoisie that own over 40 hrb., destroying the basis for their social power, destroying the economic and political power of these big bosses. We look to neutralize the small and medium bourgeoisie, maintaining their land ownership, giving them credit and technical assistance; but not looking to help them at the expense of the workers on these small fundos; rather, looking to improve working and living conditions of these workers.

THE PROGRAM OF THE POOR IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

The poor should fight for: (1) fast and massive expropriation of all fundos of the agrarian bourgeoisie. (2) Reduction of the limit from 80 to 40 hrb. (3) End to the right to reserve; expropriate the land, animals and tools. Find favorable conditions in order not to be burdened by paying for the land. (4) Establishment of the most advanced forms of property allowed by the level of consciousness reached by the agricultural workers and poor peasants: forms of state property for the agricultural workers and forms of cooperative property for poor peasants, or other advanced forms, if they decide upon it. (5) More authority for the Peasants Communal Council so that these problems be resolved by way of these Councils by the workers themselves.

THE PEASANTS COMMUNAL COUNCILS must become local organs of worker-peasant power. They must function democratically by

means of the rank and file through the assembly. They must integrate all the exploited classes and strata in the section. The Communal Councils must have authority concerning the fundos to be expropriated in the commune, deciding on payment or no payment for the land, on the forms of ownership and on organization of production. They must control the small fundos, the small properties, demanding respect for and improvement of the living and working conditions of the farmworkers. The Councils must have authority in the field of health, of education. They must exercise forms of popular justice. Finally, the Council must control and instruct the organs of agriculture that work in the locality in which it operates.

The peasants are not only demanding participation in power, but are beginning to exercise this power directly.

FORMS OF STRUGGLE

The Peasant Movement will continue its struggle against the whole of the agrarian bourgeoisie and will try thereby to lay the basis for an alternative power, for a People's (Popular) power in the countryside. In their struggles, the countryside workers will utilize the existing legal methods of struggle, and take their own initiative, use their own strength and direct actions, when the institutionalized apparatus is revealed as incapable of resolving their problems.

It is clear that the Peasant Movement cannot limit itself to the confrontations and possibilities of mobilizations that the present agrarian reform laws offer them. This law, as we said before, has become a strait-jacket against farmworkers and poor peasants. They have many times broken out of this strait-jacket and will keep on doing so with greater intensity, if a revolutionary agrarian reform law is not soon set up. This new law must reflect completely the interests of the poor in the countryside, allowing them the widest mobilization. The Peasant Movement will continue using extralegal struggles of taking over land, as the **only way**—in light of the refusal of the CP and the UP government to establish a worker-peasant agrarian policy.

In this task, peasants not only declare that they will carry out direct mobilizations to demand the expropriation of the fundos of the big bourgeoisie, but also demand that the Peasant Communal Councils be given real power.

MIR calls upon all the masses of the cities and the countryside and upon all the revolutionary currents to unite, to add their strength to support the struggles of the peasants who are demanding the expropriation of all fundos of over 80 hrbs, in order to accumulate the necessary strength to expropriate the land without having to pay for it. MIR calls upon unity to advance, to develop an alternative power in the countryside, built from the rank and file, through the Peasants Communal Councils. MIR in this period, so critical for the class struggle in Chile, a period in which various currents in the left fight for advancing the process, while others would cause its stagnation; in this hour full of indecision, halting and vacillation by some, call upon the revolutionary currents in the left to bring to the fore what Lenin said in September 1917: "Lack of faith in the masses, fear of their initiative, fear that they would act by themselves, trembling before their revolutionary energy, instead of total support without reservation; those have been the major sins of the Socialist-Revolutionaries chiefs and of the Mensheviks. In that fear lies one of the deeper roots of their indecision, of their vacillation, of their endless and infinitely sterile attempts to pour new wine in the old wine bags of the state bourgeoisie apparatus."

A MIR-led land takeover in southern Chile. Nazi Pinochet will have his hands full. Workers will crush fascism!

NATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE MIR
Santiago, February 6, 1972

THE AGRARIAN POLICY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

In a countryside filled with agrarian capitalism, in which the bourgeoisie has established the most ruthless superexploitation against the poor, the CP has issued a policy that is wrong in defining the enemy. It has deformed the class structure there to justify CP policy and establish alliances.

During the DC government, the CP supporters in Congress voted for the agrarian reform law. The DC program invented a myth of absentee landlords and said the evils in the countryside are due not to the capitalist exploitation that the rural proletariat was suffering, nor to the land grabbing by those same big capitalists, but to the general existence of land oligarchs who did not work the land.

The DC also proposed to help and respect the rights of capitalist owners with less than 80 hrbs. With this they won the support of the CP in the parliament and passed their agrarian reform laws, a most efficient plan to develop and maintain capitalist production relations in the countryside. According to the president of the National Agrarian Society (SNA), Benjamin Matte, the fundos between 40 and 80 hrbs are the most productive and add up to 40% of all the agricultural production of the country. These fundos were the central nerves of the agrarian bourgeoisie. So the big bourgeoisie developed government policy for their own protection, something that the big strategists of the CP policies don't want to see or understand.

Even those fundos over 80 hrbs. were being controlled by the big bourgeoisie after the laws. They came out with "rights to reserve" ideas, with "we cannot take over tools or animals." Finally, the poor peasants got only the worst, most unproductive land available.

The CP actually refused to lead the proletariat and poor peasants autonomously from all the bourgeoisie. It chose to "isolate" only the big landlords; and ended up isolating itself from the peasants and helping the bourgeoisie to modernize the means of capitalist production in the field of agriculture.

In the present UP government the CP has limited the struggle to one of carrying out the DC agrarian laws. They have chosen to support the big agrarian commercial bosses, whom they hide under the mask of medium landowners and rich farmers. They have not only supported the law, but fail even to apply it firmly. The law is run by a bureaucratic apparatus full of old reactionary hacks, completely undemocratic, anti-people and full of links with the agrarian bosses, breathing the same bourgeoisie air as those they are supposed to act against.

The CP also refused to make the Peasants Communal Councils into real organs of local power. It refuses to recognize the class struggles by rural workers and poor peasants against the big agrarian bourgeoisie and refuses to combine parliamentary struggle with extralegal methods of struggle. It refuses to see that the only real way for the peasants to get land is by extralegal fighting, not by depending on the parliament, which is still full of the bourgeoisie who are establishing in it their own parallel government.

'Down with (rightist) sedition. Long live revolution!'

The CP is acting against the class interests of the countryside poor. To try to unite all the classes and strata of the countryside against the "landlords" is like trying to unite water and oil—impossible.

IDEOLOGY BEHIND THE CP POLICY

Why does the CP refuse to fight against the whole of the agrarian bourgeoisie? According to them, we are now living through a national liberation stage in the Chilean revolutionary process. They see two stages in the Chilean process. The first one, the one we are living now, has anti-imperialist, antifeudal and antimonopolist tasks.

Sometimes the CP calls these antifeudal tasks, antioligarch, or simply, agrarian tasks.

According to their stage-revolution strategy, in the first stage an alliance has to be made with bourgeoisie in the city and the countryside; and only in the second stage must one fight against all of them. Therefore, the ideologues of the CP insist today that the main contradiction in Chile is between the nation and imperialism and its local representatives—the monopolies and the landlords. The contradiction between the exploited classes and the big exploiters within the nation becomes secondary. These ideologues call on us in this stage only to fight against imperialism and the land and financial oligarchy. From this comes their line of unite the peasants and isolate the landlords, which means: leave the struggle against the big agrarian bosses for a second stage.

This policy means an agreement with the policies of a populist type that, in periods of stress, the imperialists raised in Latin America. We don't mean to accuse the CP of being an agent of imperialism, as they have called MIR so many times. These policies have been the same pushed by U.S. imperialism after the victory of the Cuba revolution; their Alliance for Progress. Imperialism and the bourgeoisie have learned to push diverse agrarian reform processes to smooth down the social tensions in the countryside and avoid revolutionary uprisings. The same end is served by the DC in Chile in their agrarian reform.

RESULTS OF THE CP POLICY IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

Where the MIR did not establish political direction nor organic connections in time, the CP refusal to lead the peasants' struggle delivered sections of the Peasant Movement to the Christian-democrat demagoguery. This CP policy gave a social basis of support to fascism; it allowed the formation and strengthening of armed groups in the countryside. The CP policy made the peasant movement turn away from the government, placed the peasant masses against the government, and threw the repressive apparatus against the peasants. If the CP and the UP government wanted social revolution in the countryside, they would have located sole leadership in the peasantry, and the land takeovers would have been secondary forms of struggle.

The policy of the CP blocked a real increase of production in the countryside. Shortages were widened by refusing to take over and put to immediate use all the fundos over 80 hrbs, and refusing to expropriate tools and animals as the only way that those fundos expropriated could enter into immediate production. This policy helped the sabotage acts by the landlords—killing animals, destruction of tools, etc. All these things made the CP and the government lose all its strength in important sections of the peasantry. Now the government will never be able to win them over, and may well lose electoral and real power because of this.

Chile: Demonstrators call for workers' power.

Fight Against Women's Oppression Parallels Struggle Against Racism

We all know women's oppression by the ruling class is bad. The question is: what is the significance of it? How badly does it need to be fought? In the face of racist genocidal war in Vietnam and genocidal policies of the U.S. government at home, problems of women pale in significance. Yet this article will argue that 1) the fight against women's oppression, far from a diversion, must be an integral part of the fight against racism. Capitalist ideologies bolster each other. 2) Exploitation of women is crucially important to the capitalists and a direct fight against it as part of the trade union movement is a winning strategy. 3) Although women will fight for a revolution and state power could be seized without an explicit fight against women's oppression, socialism could never be achieved if we don't fight male supremacist ideology from the beginning. Anything which oppresses over half the population must be crushed. The only chance to end women's oppression is to overthrow capitalism, but revolution doesn't guarantee an end to women's oppression.

Elitism is fundamental to capitalist thought. It is the main apology of the system. Under feudalism the theory of the 'divine right of kings' said the power of kings was granted by God. Under capitalism the power of the ruling class is justified by their supposed merit in organizing industry and competing in a free market economy. 'The best man wins' is the fundamental justification for privilege under capitalism. Racism and male supremacy are subideologies of this.

Does Male Supremacy have to be fought alongside racism?

Racism and male supremacy are clearly parallel ideologies. Both claim that a subgroup of the population is **by birth** inferior to the others. Both racism and male supremacy exist in concrete forms and as myths pushed by every cultural medium (education, books, TV, etc.). Racism has two functions, to justify superexploitation and to divide the working class against itself in order to weaken it in its struggle against the ruling class. Male supremacist ideology has the same functions.

The base of the superexploitation of women is a huge wage differential. The median wage for fulltime female workers is 60% that of fulltime male workers, just as fulltime black males make only 70% the median wage of white males. A higher proportion of women than men work part-time, so that when the yearly wages of part-time workers are averaged in, women make only 40% of what men make in a year. (All figures from Bureau of the Census, 1971.) Women have a higher official unemployment rate than men, and through lack of day-care centers, many more women workers than men are forced out of the labor force. (Bureau of Labor Statistics.) Thus wages are much lower, unemployment and underemployment much higher for women than for men.

Further, women suffer double exploitation because of domestic slavery. Whether they work outside the home or not, they are expected to do all the housework, which as Lenin said, "crushes, strangles, stultifies and degrades her, chains her to the kitchen and the nursery, and she wastes her labor on barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-wracking, stultifying and crushing drudgery." (Emancipation, p. 64) In summary, the ideology of sexism justifies superexploitation of women workers, superunemployment among women, and non-payment for housework (domestic slavery).

Further, women's oppression divides the working class into two. Many a strike has been broken by dividing male from female workers. The AFL in its early years didn't organize women workers. The family is a bulwark of capitalist relations. In it the authoritarianism of the man preserves the system in microcosm. The woman is the man's slave rather than his comrade in the fight against a common enemy, the ruling class. His outlook towards her strengthens his belief in the justice of capitalism, and her belief in the immutability of her subjugation.

Just as with racism, the working man doesn't actually benefit from women's oppression. Rather, it tricks him into accepting a weakening of one sector of his class (by lower pay, unemployment, etc.) which in fact weakens his position relative to the bosses. Further, male supremacist ideology spoils the most intimate relationship in his life and involves him in inumerable family troubles and

emotional miseries. Domestic slavery, though letting him off the hook from a second job, creates a division between him and his potential ally in the struggle against his own exploitation. Thus, just like racism, male supremacy is an elitist ideology which divides the working class and justifies the superexploitation of women.

The main difference between racism and male supremacist ideology is the extremity of the exploitation. Although women make lower wages than black men, the overall economic position of married women is better, because of the income of their spouses, than that of black people in general. A woman isn't threatened by police murder just because of her sex, whereas a black person will be murdered by the police simply because he's black, as for example Phillip Johns, who was murdered in his bed in Los Angeles when the cops came to arrest someone else. The government doesn't have a genocidal policy towards women, as they do towards black people. However, many aspects of the genocidal policy are directed against black women, and the whole justification for it is based in male supremacist arguments. Further, there are physical forms of exploitation; only women are subject to such as prostitution and rape.

Another difference between racism and male supremacist ideology is their relative significance in revolutionary strategy. Racism must be overcome by the working class or there never will be a revolution. The potential of race war is a key weapon for the ruling class. A whole movement of the masses could be destroyed by a racist scapegoat campaign such as the one in Nazi Germany. It is hard to imagine the capitalists succeeding in an effort to foment a sex war, by contrast. Racism wins American workers to fight imperialist war and diverted the whole antiwar movement away from an anti-imperialist line in the racist slogan "bring the boys home." Today racism is the key cutting edge of the bosses' anti-union activities. Racism can divide the trade union movement fatally.

Official Racism bolstered by Male Supremacist Ideology

Racism and sexism not only have similar functions, as forms of elitism they bolster each other. This is not surprising because all forms of elitism assume one group is better than another and therefore deserves privileges. If someone already believes in one elitist division, such as sexism, he is that much readier to believe in another one, such as racism. The Nazis pushed sexism to the hilt just at the time they were building racism against the Jews, all to garner support for an authoritarian regime. (Millet) (Note anticommunism intertwined with antisemitism.)

Official government racism in recent years draws upon our well-ingrained patriarchal view that women aren't rational and responsible enough to run a family in order to convince us that the problems of the ghetto derive from the matriarchal black family structure. An official publication of the Johnson Administration was the **Moynihan Report** (1965).

At the heart of the deterioration of the fabric of Negro society is the deterioration of the Negro family. It is the fundamental source of weakness of the Negro community at the present time .... Unless this damage is repaired, all the effort to end discrimination and poverty and injustice will come to little.

In his book **Blaming The Victim,** William Ryan has analyzed the Moynihan report as follows:

One can readily summarize and simplify the essential elements of this ideological position. First, the Negro family, as a major institution within a Negro subculture, is weak and unstable, tending toward a matriarchal form. Second, the present status of the Negro family is rooted in the experience of slavery. Third, the distortions in Negro family structure have been maintained by Negro unemployment that has continued at disastrously high levels for many decades. Fourth, the weakened Negro family produces children, particularly sons, who are so damaged by their family experience that they are unable to profit from educational and employment opportunities. Fifth, therefore efforts to achieve formal change in such social institutions as ghetto schools and discriminatory employment practices will have little effect on present patterns of inequality of status; the ending of Negro inequality and poverty will not and cannot be achieved until something is done to strengthen and stabilize the Negro family.

First, it isn't even true that the black family is "matriarchal." Although there is a higher proportion of black families headed by women than white families, 75% of black families are headed by men. Ryan points out that generally in poor families, necessity dictates that a larger share of economic responsibility be shouldered by the women, so even the higher proportion of female-headed families correlates with poverty, not race. (Ryan, p. 67)

The significant thing is that Moynihan nowhere attempts to prove that women run families less well than men. Thus he need only claim the black family structure is matriarchal and male supremacy a la Freud fills in the remainder of the argument leading to the conclusion that the problems of the ghetto derive from characteristics of black culture (the black family), rather than from superexploitation.

Similarly, we have been told by Freud that the key thing in a boy's life is identification of his sex role, which clearly can't be given by a woman. Therefore Negro boys are forever marred. The unresolved Oedipus conflict is seen as a fundamental cause of their 'failure to succeed.' But Ryan quotes a large-scale investigation, the Midtown Manhattan study, which

found no overriding effect of broken home on mental health; the effect varied markedly depending on which parent was lost, the age of the child, and the social class of the family. Their study indicated that there is very little effect if the home is broken after the age of six, and that there is a substantially greater risk of emotional pathology if the mother *is lost. A five-year-old child in a poor family who loses his mother is very clearly running a high risk of psychological damage; a twelve-year-old in a middle class family who loses his father is not.*

... The view that a female-headed broken family is especially pathological, then, is simply not consonant with the available evidence ...

NEW YORK CITY-- Women welfare workers and clients demonstrate against racist forced labor.

Although Moynihan has been well-refuted by his academic colleagues, this has not deterred another government advisor, Edward Banfield, from coming out with an even more racist extension of the Moynihan theory. Banfield is anti-working-class, racist and male supremacist all at once. The main point of his book, the Unheavenly City, **is that no amount of social reform will solve the problems of the cities because of a 'pathological lower-class culture' which is self-perpetuating. He denies he's talking about black and Latin people, but since he frequently uses phrases like 'mostly Negro' it's clear who he means.**

And guess who inculcates this devastating lower-class culture? In particular Banfield supports the view that lower-class women do not communicate with their children in elaborated linguistic codes, but rather by restricted codes—mainly implicit meanings, gestures, intonation and non-verbal cues. The mothers' low level of conceptualization constrains, among other things, the intensity and extent of his curiosity, his attitude toward "authority" and his ability to identify with the aims and principles of a society, to verbalize his feelings and to express them in socially approved ways, and to take an instrumental (which is to say a future-oriented) attitude toward people and things. (p. 225-6) Banfield further charges that the lower class mother doesn't give the child "the support and stimulation it needs." (p. 226) He considers several alternatives for social policy:

1) removing children from their mothers
2) selling children
3) offering scholarships for children to be placed in year-round boarding schools
4) day nurseries (He immediately rejects this) "Even under the best of circumstances they are not likely to succeed in bringing children out of lower-class culture" because they are **still** "confused and stultified by what they are and are not exposed to at home." (p. 232-3)

Once again Banfield's book demonstrates that capitalist ideologies of racism, male supremacy and class elitism bolster each other. Class elitism prepares us to believe that working people are miserable because of their own internal deficiencies ("lower-class culture") rather than class oppression. Since most lower class people are black, class elitism prepares us for the racist conclusion that all black people are deficient. In the same way male supremacist ideology, in particular the belief that women are less intelligent and self-reliant than men, prepares us to believe that poor black mothers rearing their children alone mar them permanently by not developing their minds, their linguistic abilities or their characters. These totally false accusations lead to the racist, genocidal proposals above. The Geneva convention defines removing children from their parents as genocidal. Banfield rejects these as unfeasible, and finally proposes the following:

1) Identify the incompetent poor (inveterate "problem families") and whenever possible, assist the incompetent poor with goods and services rather than with cash; depending upon the degree of their incompetence, encourage (or require) them to reside in an institution or semi-institution (for example, a closely supervised public housing project).

2) Give intensive birth-control guidance to the incompetent poor.

3) Pay "problem families" to send infants and children to day nursuries and preschools, the programs of which are designed to bring children into normal culture. (p. 246)

He laments his proposals won't be accepted because of pressure groups (labor and civil rights).

Perhaps the most extreme example of defending racist arguments with male supremacist ones is found in a 1967 article by Urie Bronfenbrenner, a supposed liberal and founder of the Head Start Program. He claims that black males suffer from a "cognitive inadequacy" due to, among other things, prenatal damage and paternal absence. On the one hand Bronfenbrenner attributes the "over-aggressiveness and exaggerated toughness, aggressiveness and cruelty of delinquent gangs" to "the desperate effort of males in lower-class culture to rebel against their early overprotective, feminizing environment." On the other hand, he says, "despite their desperate attempts to prove the contrary, a latent femininity is nevertheless present in 'fatherless' youngsters, and results in a confused sex identity." (p. 915) These completely unsupported, internally inconsistent lies can only be believed if one first accepts the Freudian-based sexism they assume.

The recent restatement of super-racist theories assumes the sexist prejudices of the reader and uses it to support the IQ test, which then becomes the basis for claiming black people are genetically inferior. In his infamous article "IQ," Richard Herrnstein cites the Terman study of 1500 "gifted" persons (IQ over 150) to support the value of the IQ test. "Right from the start the findings were informative. For example, highly bright boys were easier to locate than highly bright girls. And the disparity increased slightly with age, suggesting that whatever IQ is, boys maintain it better than girls." He then goes on to say, assuming the reader has accepted the value of the IQ test because of the way it screens out the women from the ranks of the gifted, that the study discovered that there were mostly children from the professional class and a "shortage of Latins, non-Jewish, Eastern Europeans and Negroes" among the gifted.

The number of racists who use male supremacist ideology to back up their arguments is so great that I can't quote them all here, but the list includes Jensen, Coleman, Kretch, Crutchfield, etc.

Racist and male supremacist statements precede policies and laws being enacted and proposed all over the country:

- Slave labor for welfare mothers in New York and Chicago.
- Proposed forced sterilization bills in Indiana and Illinois.
- Removal of children "from unfit welfare mothers" and their placement in "well-run state institutions" proposed by Stanford professor Freeman.
- Intensive birth control campaign in minority communities by Zero Population Growth.
- Genocidal neurosurgery to control "violent behavior" being performed in state prisons in California. Lobotomies have been performed mainly on women.
- Blood tests to determine paternity in order to prosecute fathers of children on welfare for desertion. (During the Congressional welfare reform flurry last year, Sen. Roth (R.-Del.) proposed the establishment of a "parent locater center" in the Justice Department, the use of blood tests to determine "the paternity of children abandoned by their fathers to the welfare rolls," and that it be a federal crime for fathers to desert their children. In other words, punish the fathers in families broken up by the welfare system.) LA Times, Oct. 3, 1972)

In order to understand why so many racist genocidal practices are also male supremacist we must examine the basis of the welfare system and its pivotal role in preserving chronic unemployment.

The trade union movement originally fought for and won welfare in 1935 (Social Security Act), to relieve the victims of chronic unemployment. The spirit of that reform legislation was pro-working class and not male supremacist or racist. In 1961 AFDC was introduced and it was used to divide the working class. AFDC pays only women with dependent children, assuming that a woman cannot work and have her children cared for in a day care center. During W.W. II the nation had thousands of child care centers and women did the work. In contrast to AFDC, the idea of child care centers doesn't lend itself to blaming the victim as a lazy, shiftless, minority woman who has babies in order to avoid work. Further a woman who cares for children all day long is not exactly doing nothing. In fact she is performing a socially necessary function and ought to be paid a salary by the bosses for raising the next generation instead of being spat upon.

The Class Nature of Women's Oppression

In the previous section we investigated race and sex prejudice based on theories of inferiority of minorities and women spread by the government, the arts, academia, and the media. These forms of elitism are not only related and mutually supportive, but they also justify similar systems of economic exploitation. Women are workers but denied that status by the myths of 'domesticity' and 'dependence.' As workers, whether in the home or in industry, women make lower wages than men, and black women make the lowest wages of all. Domestic work is an expected and unpaid aspect of female labor. All this is justified by a series of myths (widely believed, but untrue about female labor). This system provides the ruling class:

1) A cheap and extremely flexible labor pool
2) Bearing and raising of children who will be the next generation of workers
3) Lack of organization of women workers
4) A fundamental division (psychological and organizational) between men and women, in spite of the great unifying potential of the family relationship.

Women constituted 37% of the total work force

in 1966 and 40% of those receiving wage income. Ninety percent of women work at some time in their lives. The main cause of non-participation in the work force is child care. Work life expectancy of women is as follows:*

Unmarried	45 years
Married, no children	35 years
Married, one child	25 years
Married, two children	22 years
Married, three children	20 years
Married, four or more	17 years

*page 7-8, *Handbook*

In 1966 the wage differential was:

	Median Yearly Income
White men	$7,164
Black men	$4,528
White women	$4,152
Black women	$2,949

In general women make 58% of what men make. A black woman earns 41% of the median white male income. Further, because of higher part time employment among women, the median income for all women workers in 1966 was only $2,149 compared to $5,693 for men (**Handbook** p. 132).

In addition to low wages, women face higher unemployment and underemployment. In 1968, 37% of all workers were women but 50% of unemployed workers were women. The female rate of unemployment was 4.8%, while for men the rate was 2.9 (**Handbook** p. 12). Underemployment is revealed by the fact that only 42% of women have year-round jobs, while 70% of men stay employed all year (**Handbook** p. 55). As one might suspect, home responsibilities is the reason women give for not working full time. No doubt day care centers would allow women to pursue more full-time work and strengthen their role in the trade union movement.

As a result of women's oppression and the systematic discrimination against them, women are usually employed in the clerical and service industries. These jobs are by and large not covered by union organization and the pay and working conditions are poor. Only one seventh of women workers are unionized, while one fourth of the male work force is organized. (**Handbook** p. 82) In the "blue collar" industries where there are large numbers of women such as the garment industry (ILGWU, Amalgamated Clothing Workers), the electrical industry (International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers), retail clerks, restaurant workers, and communications workers we find that women are leading and active participants in the trade union movement. The male supremacist ideology of the big shot union leaders accounts for the weak efforts to organize more women workers.

Not only does a woman work at her low status, poorly paid, unorganized job for eight hours a day but is expected to come home and do another six hours of domestic labor, while her husband watches. If a man does some house work he is considered a hero. In the long run this exploitive situation leads to bitter feelings and divorce. It is imperative that domestic labor be viewed as equal to labor outside the home and not as a "labor of love."

Interestingly, being a mother is no exemption from working. In 1940, 9% of mothers worked, today it's 38% (**Handbook** p. 40). Only 2% of working mothers are able to place their children in child care centers. The others are cared for by relatives, friends and neighbors. Thus, if a woman can find a relative who can care for the children for nothing then she can go to work. If she has to pay a friend or neighbor a small sum, then working becomes a less attractive plan, but if the need is great enough, a women might go to work and realize $40-$50 a week if she's lucky!

If a woman is unmarried then she has to live on the pitiful wages of $3,000-$4,000 a year. If she is married, then presumably she shares her husband's status, but in many ways she is considered him and part of his property.

Women are sometimes accused of working for fun or entertainment and told that their income is therefore supplemental, that they receive their real income from their husbands' salary. The fact is that most men don't make enough money to support the family and the women have to go to work just to make ends meet. The propaganda machine would have us believe that when women have to work to support their families that they should have married a better man. (Presumably by being more sexy and "flower-like.") The specter of women working doesn't occur in "normal families." The myth of the supplemental income is used by big bosses to justify low wages for women workers. Further, this myth helps the bosses keep certain jobs (usually better paying) reserved for family men. But then women are kept "in their place" and the labor movement is weakened. Wouldn't all workers benefit if women workers were all paid the same as men? Do women's weaker muscles in any way justify lower wages? The fact of the matter is, the jobs that require big muscles are also low paying and low status. In this category women do much of the strenuous work, factory assembly lines, retail stores, farm work. It has been pointed out that domestic labor is heavy work, and when you add caring for a young child, the amount of physical exertion equals any man's. "Many women work harder than either man or woman should work, harder even than a mule should work." (Inman p. 29)

The division of job categories enhances the myth that women have it softer than men. In janitorial work (an area where women are concentrated) often male janitors do the floors, while women do the bathrooms, sinks and toilets and empty the trash. In actual fact, the two tasks are equally exhausting, but it is said that women have the "privilege" of not pushing around the big waxers (of course they do push around big barrels of trash). The bosses walk away with a dollar an hour more profit for every woman worker with this neat "division of labor."

The rather unappealing situation of women needs some ideological underpinnings. It is said that

women are naturally inferior, they are the weaker sex, not only physically but emotionally. It's "nature's law." When the logic of 'natural' exploitation fails to justify low wages, 16 hour days, or second class citizenship, then the social argument is trotted out. The capitalist social order demands a boss-employee relationship between men and women. The media and the arts play a major role in forming anti-woman sterotypes. The movies in the thirties portrayed women as reasonable intelligent and capable, the present movies portray women as either dumb, sex pots or mean, hard boss types (the woman who acts like a man). Similar to the type of stereotypes they do of different races.

The differences between the sexes extend no further than the child-bearing role and the weaker muscular structure of women. These differences do not in any way justify the exploitation of women or the division in the working class that has been fostered up to now. Looking at history, Engels pointed out that men and women used to share social production equally. The woman was supported during pregnancy and not looked down on for bringing the next generation into the world.

The role of women in rural society was crucial and appreciated, valued and supported by the men. Not to idealize these times, but to illustrate that this situation is not a permanent state of mankind.

The face of class unity: men and women rank and filers in UAW strike against racist Chrysler moguls.

MURDER FOR MONEY

We are all aware of the wars of aggression that U.S. bosses have waged. The most recent of these has been the war in Vietnam.

But the war at home—the war between boss and worker—goes on each minute of the day, every day. In this war, as in any war, there are casualties.

In this country each year there are millions of industrial accidents and tens of thousands of deaths which result from bad working conditions. This is a result of the profit system—where profit–money—means everything to the bosses, while workers are "expendable." The bosses would kill their mothers (and often do to get at their money) if it meant a few dollars more.

People wasted by asbestos poisoning are a chilling example of the lack of concern for the individual in a system run by and for the bosses. These deaths don't grab the headlines—but they wipe out homes and ruin families.

Capitalism and capitalists are killers. And we all must fight them if we are to survive and flourish as people.

Asbestos Bosses Planned to Rake in Profits From Workers' Deaths

For the past 60 years the asbestos industry, the U.S. Public Health Service, and the Labor Department have known that asbestos causes fatal lung disease. Not only was this information kept from American workers, but attempts to investigate conditions were blocked by government and industry.

After 30 years of production of asbestos in Britain, and the death of unknown numbers of workers, in the late 1920's a study was finally made: In 1928 and 29 363 asbestos textile workers were examined and 25% were found to have evidence of "Asbestosis"—a vicious lung disease which causes death by slow strangulation.

Asbestos fibers, it was proven, had a unique ability to destroy the lungs and cripple the workers. But at the same time it was known that these fibers could be the center of a multi-million dollar capitalist industry. The choice was: either take drastic measures to protect the workers and the general public; or, commit mass murder. Meanwhile, millions of dollars were pouring in to the capitalists from unrestricted production in a growing market. "Cash in and ask questions later" was the ruling-class' decision.

As the booming world asbestos industry moved toward the billion dollar mark in the U.S., another startling discovery was made. In 1955, 113 autopsies were taken (in Britain) on asbestos workers of more than 20 years. They showed 11 times greater chance of getting lung cancer than the rest of the population. Soon after, data was collected linking asbestos fibers floating in the air near the production centers (not in the factories) with "asbestosis" and cancer in the exposed population. By the 60's a study was made showing that workers who worked with asbestos and smoked had almost **100 times the chance of getting lung cancer as the general population.** But as the medical reports grew more and more serious, the profits grew still more lucrative.

From 1965 to 1969 U.S. manufacturers bought one-third of the world's asbestos. While in 1930 500,000 tons were produced world-wide, by 1971 the figure was 7 million tons in one year. By 1971 Johns-Mansville—the largest asbestos conglomerate in the world—netted 42.7 million dollars, and in 1972 they jumped to 55 million dollars. An estimated 5 million workers in the U.S. alone were (by 1970) involved in the production or application of asbestos in industry, and breathing in significant amounts of fiber daily. Asbestos producers, insulation workers, construction workers, shipyard workers, automotive workers, electrical workers, steam fitters, tile setters—people involved with the over 3,000 uses of asbestos—all were vulnerable. Generations, millions had already passed through some phase of the asbestos industry and had lungs invaded by the deadly fibers, which often take effect 20 to 30 years after contact.

Workers' Struggles Force Exposure

In the 1970's the horrible facts behind the asbestos industry were being exposed, exploding indignation of the workers. By last March Dr. Merle F. Stanton, a scientist at the National Institute of Health, ranked asbestos second only to cigarette smoking as a known cause of cancer and a threat to the general population. By the beginning of 1970 **neither the industry nor the government could ignore the issue.**

In the winter of 1969-70 workers struck the largest asbestos manufacturing plant in the world, the Johns-Mansville Corporation, in Mansville, N.J. For 158 days workers held out, with one of the chief issues being enforcement of health conditions to fight against "White Lung Disease" (Asbestosis). This strike, along with the rank-and-file miners' movement against "Black Lung Disease," increased pressure from the AFL-CIO and growing public attention forced some changes in the methods of production. It also resulted in some widely publicized government "reforms" to "protect the workers."

The 1970 "Health" Act

The history of 60 years of workers breathing in asbestos and dying show that capitalism and the capitalist state is a killer. But in 1970 Liberal politicians pointed to the Occupational Health Act and the setting-up of the National In-

stitute of Occupational Safety and Health (NIOSH) as a new move to protect the health of the "forgotten" workers. After all, "what's past is past," "the government has taken a new turn for the workers..." But the truth is: once a killer, always a killer. The government has merely found a new smokescreen to help the killer bosses.

For the enforcement of health standards established by the Occupational Safety and Health Act, federal officials conceded in testimony before Congress that they would need one hygenist per 35,000 workers. **But so far as can be determined the Labor Department has only 60 hygenists (1 to 1.2 million workers) to enforce all industrial health standards—not just those from asbestosis—and funding for inspection is at a rock bottom!** In other words, nobody knows how widespread the health violations are. Nobody is there to enforce them. This is the "protection" we can expect from the Department of Labor.

In November 1971 under this new act the Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO requested that Secretary of Labor James Hodgson issue emergency standards for asbestos dust and lower the acceptable fiber count (amount of fibers per centimeter of air). Five million American workers were being exposed to increased dense concentrations, and the situation called for immediate action. Hodgson denied the request and ruled to maintain the present standard for four years, after which a safer standard would persumably be established (although not necessarily enforced).

According to Dr. Irving J. Selikoff, the leading expert on Asbestos related diseases in the U.S., **"By a stroke of the pen 50,000 lives were thrown down the drain (by the Labor Department)."** According to the findings of Dr. Selikoff, who has led the research activity in this area: **By continuing the old standard another four years—a** period that will see 200,000 or so new men and women enter asbestosis-related industry—the Labor Department has doomed 200,000 to unnecessary lung cancer deaths, 7,000 to unnecessary mesothelioma deaths (a 100% fatal cancer of the lung lining), 7,000 to unnecessary asbestosis deaths, as well as related deaths from cancers of the digestive tract. This is not counting the combined effects of asbestos and cigarette smoking, or asbestos and coaltar pitch such as roofers breathe in every day.

The Secretary of Labor's own advisory committee, the newly established NIOSH panel, the foremost medical experts, all advised immediate change of the safety standards in what has actually been developing into an international capitalist-produced emergency. But in 1971 who was Secretary of Labor Hodgson listening to? In fact, for four more years he went along with the "independent" Arthur D. Little "Panel of Experts" findings. These "independents" were made up of 13 executives for the shipbuilding industry, 12 executives from the asbestos industry, and a "health group" of 11 doctors and technicians all but two or three of whom had been consultants to the asbestos industry at one time or another. **The day the decision was made the Johns-Manville Corporation notified its stockholders, with reassurance, that the ruling would not hurt their sales or earnings.**

Finally, consider the case of the Union Asbestos Plant, employing 395 workers in Tyler, Texas. The U.S. Department of Labor and the Public Health Service were aware at least as early as 1967 that deadly conditions existed in the plant. Air samples taken in that year showed that the count of asbestos in some parts of the plant were **60 times higher** than today's inadequate standards. These findings were withheld from the workers by the government and kept secret.

In 1968, because the Tyler plant turned out asbestos insulation under a Navy contract, it was given an inspection by the Labor Department. The plant then could have been fined or shut down—but still the government took no action. Nothing was done. When the new law and the new bureaucracy took over in Washington the Tyler Plant stood out as one of the most criminal setups in the industry. Tests were taken of 17 men who had worked at the plant for 10 years and it was found that 8 had asbestosis. This was a test case, and the industry watched as the government showed in practice that capital ruled. In 1971 the government finally made citations against the factory. **Not even mentioning the asbestos hazard, the government fined the company $210!** Public outcry followed. Realizing that this move had been too blatant, they raised the fine. They fined this subsidiary of the multi-million dollar Pittsburgh Corning Company $6,999. To escape the workers' anger the company moved out of town, leaving the residents of Tyler behind to die of asbestosis and unemployment.

MASS ASBESTOS DEATH HAS NOT BEEN THE result of ignorance. It has been a result of a simple formula routinely accepted by the bourgeois ruling class and their government: Exploitation, crippling, and the destruction of human life are necessary for the protection, development, and maximizing of profits—for the life of the ruling class, and its system of capitalism. As is shown by this case alone, the movement to fight and defeat the capitalist class and their system is a life and death struggle for all of us.

Angolan People's Long Struggle Against Imperialist Exploiters

The struggle of the Angolan people against colonial exploitation and oppression dates back to the beginning of Portuguese colonial domination. For five centuries the Angolan people have been subjected by Portuguese and international imperialism to the most ferocious forms of exploitation and political oppression.

During the period of Salazar's regime in Portugal, which lasted from 1926 to 1968, the Portuguese ruling class built up a tremendous repressive apparatus. The political police (PIDE) has ever since, in both Portugal and the colonies, engaged in constant actions of terror and fascist repression of working people and revolutionaries.

Captured Angolan guerrillas have been tortured and executed (as attested not only by reports of the liberation movements themselves but even by accounts of the so-called "independent" U.N. observers). Working people arrested under colonial law have been subjected to indefinite periods of forced labor in the imperialists' mines or plantations with no pay and under the most miserable living and working conditions.

In recent years in Angola, the pattern of imperialist exploitation of the country has started to change. The traditional colonialists, the Portuguese bourgeoisie, which exploits the workers of the colonies and Portugal, have been forced to open the colonies—and in particular Angola—to international imperialism, namely the U.S., German, British, Japanese. Today, at the imperialist stage of capitalism, the colonies and neo-colonies constitute for these imperialists the best place to invest their capital and to make superprofits through the superexploitation of the working class of these countries, extending everywhere the capitalist mode of production, which rests on the infamous exploitation of the masses of workers.

Traditional Agriculture Forcibly Smashed

Traditional agriculture in Angola has been completely disrupted by Colonial rule. The colonialists expropriated the land from the peasants, forcing them to work on the big plantations (e.g. coffee) under slave conditions or to grow crops (e.g. cotton) on plots of land assigned by the imperialists to one or several peasant families. Having to pay all the costs of production, these peasants are then compelled to sell the products of their labor at extremely low prices to the capitalist monopolies which were given exclusive rights of exploitation over large portions of the country.

The recent history of Angola is characterized by either the emigration of the Angolan people to border regions or their migration from the countryside to the mining areas and urban centers where the growing industries are located. The Angolan working class under wage conditions amounts today to more than 1/2 million, i.e., one-fifth of the total active population.

The South African capitalists, the frontmen of British and U.S. imperialism in Africa, have a big share of the huge Diamang corporation which has the monopoly of mining diamonds. These constitute the major mining Angolan export. In '66 Diamang employed more than 75% of the whole Angolan mining working class and had absolute power in establishing the workers' salaries and contracts. The workers are thus subjected to harsh exploitation and the worst working conditions. Oil, among iron and other minerals, is one of the raw materials attracting big U.S. corporations like Gulf Oil, Texaco, Mobil Oil.

Mass Uprisings Begin

The worst capitalist exploitation and oppression cannot stop the struggle of the Angolan people—nor of any people in the world.

In 1961 mass uprisings started in both the countryside and the cities against colonial exploitation. Taken by surprise, the colonialists soon organized neo-nazi bands which engaged in mass murder of Africans.

After an attack by militant masses of Africans on Feb. 4, 1961, upon Luanda's main political prison, the repressive response of the Portuguese ruling class was frenzied. The police and civilian bands as well as the army attacked demonstrations and organized nightly slaughters in the "muceques" (ghettos). Time magazine reported at the time (Feb. 24, 1961) that more than 300 Africans were murdered in the streets and muceques of Luanda (capital of Angola) in the first week of the uprising.

In the countryside, peasant uprisings spread in almost all of the major colonial plantations; the colonialists moved in quickly to install an army of about one hundred thousand and unleashed extensive killings in a genocidal strategy of extermi-

nation of entire villages and relocating whole rural populations in the Northern and Eastern parts of the country in hamlet-type concentration camps.

THE TWO MAIN ORGANIZATIONS WHICH emerged in the '61 uprisings were UPA (Uniao das Populacoes de Angola) and MPLA (Movimiento Popular de Libertacao de Angola). UPA, an ultra-reactionary CIA-supported nationalist organization, developed a terroristic strategy in the countryside which culminated in indiscriminatory racist killings of "those of Portuguese blood" ("mesticos"), the overall majority of whom are working people. UPA never had significant support from the Angolan people and it soon became completely disengaged from significant armed struggle; its only importance is to serve as the bastion of U.S. imperialist interests. In the middle 60's they persecuted MPLA guerrillas and tried to demobilize the Angolan peasants by turning tribes one against another and using traditional reactionary African tribal chiefs to cool down the militancy of the peasantry.

MPLA, which claims to have organized the urban uprisings of '61, has since the beginning maintained the position that the struggle of the Angolan people is one of "national liberation" and not a struggle for socialism. Thus, the kind of society which they claim to fight for is one of a "progressive" (bourgeois) democracy. In the words of Agostinho Neto the MPLA's general secretary, "... although our movement is not a very big one, it does not have at the moment the characteristics of a party and it is not a communist movement..." (in "Un peuple en Revolucion" Tricontinental 12, May-June 69).

INTERNATIONALLY MPLA HAS RECEIVED support from imperialist Russia and several other revisionist countries as publicly acknowledged several times by MPLA leaders, notably at the Conference of Solidarity to the Peoples of the Portuguese Colonies (CSPCP) held in Rome in June 1970. At CSPCP, which was organized by the revisionist Italian Communist Party (PCI) and several bourgeois liberal parties (PSIUP, PSI), and which left out other revolutionary groups like UNITA (which incidentally held demonstrations in the streets of Rome at the time and whose members were identified by the bourgeois press as the "Marxist-Leninists"), MPLA publicly thanked Russia, Czechoslovakia, East Germany and other revisionist countries for their support, and met in a private session with Pope Paul VI. Furthermore, they joined hands, in public demonstrations of support, with members of a semi-legal Portuguese social-democratic organization (ASP) which is in Portugal the most outspoken advocate of neo-colonial rule for the colonies.

Throughout the 60's MPLA and its leaders attacked UPA, charging that some "imperialist and neo-colonialist forces had given up their support of Portugal's colonial war as a lost cause. They had now chosen instead to disrupt the unity of the Angolan nationalists by concluding agreements with false leaders who would safeguard the interests of the imperialists" (Interview of Neto in the Cuban paper "Revolucion").

"Unity" Among Misleaders

Recently UPA and MPLA agreed on an alliance of the two organizations. UPA, the fake group, reduced to a dozen corrupted individuals living in Kinshasa (capital of Zaire) and openly identified with U.S. imperialism, was given the political leadership! Holden Roberto, UPA's long time president and a rabid anti-communist, is president of the political council of the newly formed Front. MPLA retained the military leadership. Supposedly MPLA would get for its guerrillas freedom of action from Zaire, which has the largest border with Angola.

This reconciliation was negotiated with the help of Mobutu, the murderer of Lumumba and thousands of Congolese people and an agent of U.S. imperialism in Africa. It is also significant that when the U.S. and Russian imperialists are holding hands for the exploitation of the international working class, these two U.S. and Soviet supported groups find it possible to join together.

But the heroic struggle of the working people of Angola will sooner or later overcome these setbacks and go on to smash imperialist rule and abolish all exploitation.

30 for 40 on the Berkeley Ballot: How Can Elections Aid Struggle?

The first electoral campaign to popularize the movement for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay (30/40) took place in Berkeley, California, between September 1972 and April 1973. Four political lessons can be learned:

- Capitalists are terrified of the 30/40 movement gaining ground.
- 30/40 is a viable issue **now**, and it can serve to unify employed and unemployed, black, Latin, Asian and white.
- Electoral campaigns are definitely a useful tactic, but they cannot be a substitute for organizing in the unions and building WAM (the Workers Action Movement).
- The left-center coalition (between PLP and other workers, students and unemployed) is the only force that will seriously fight for 30/40. Politicians, union misleaders, and revisionists (those who claim to be revolutionaries but who are in fact on the side of the capitalists) either opposed our campaign or did not lift a finger to build it.

The following article is an attempt to summarize the experience from which these lessons were drawn.

Berkeley is primarily a university town. The University of California is by far the largest employer in town, and most of the city's 120,000 residents are connected to it as students, faculty, or staff. The industrial base is small in comparison to nearby cities such as Richmond, Emeryville or Oakland. However there are a few sizable factories in West Berkeley including Cutter Labs and Colgate Palmolive, both unionized by the ILWU local 6 (International Longshoremen and Warehousemen). The small-business sector is large.

The City can be roughly divided into three major areas: the hills, which house wealthy professionals and businessmen; South Campus, a student area; and West and South Berkeley, integrated working class communities, with a black majority.

The Political Scene

This election year, the best-financed political force in Berkeley was the Chamber of Commerce-backed "Berkeley Four" slate for City Council. Spending at least $75,000, they campaigned primarily on an anti-radical platform, and won three of the four seats that were up for grabs. The fourth seat went to an "April Coalition" candidate.

The April Coalition is a loose mass organization, consisting primarily of white students and ex-students. It also included members of the Black Caucus, a tiny group of black professionals. Many members of the Coalition are active in neighborhood organizations or reform groups such as the Berkeley Tenants Organizing Committee. As a result of this, the Coalition is oriented to grass-root changes, which is good. However it is plagued by many weaknesses.

The most serious weakness is the reliance on elections and the courts to win reforms. All activity of the numerous organizations that constitute the Coalition essentially stopped for six months, to be replaced by the electoral campaign. For example, rent control was seemingly won through an election in Berkeley. Yet the courts ruled the law was unconstitutional, and tenants are in no better shape than before. Tenants' only power is to hold back their rent money. If they are not organized, they are at the mercy of the landlords—no matter what the electoral activities of the Coalition are.

The reason for such reliance on elections is partially the lack of a base in the working class. If you cannot muster the only power for change—that of the working class—you are left with nothing but the illusion of power through capitalist elections. Why the lack of a base in the working class? Because the Coalition has not fought in the interest of the workers of Berkeley.

THE SHARPEST EXPRESSION OF THE WEAKnesses of the Coalition is the lack of a concrete anti-racist program. Coalition leaders want the "black vote." They do not try to get it by fighting

for more jobs. Unemployment here is 12% and hits the black community the hardest. While the Coalition supports "affirmative action" hiring for City jobs, this is mainly window-dressing, since no push is made for more jobs. Nor does the Coalition fight Jensen, the leader of an international gang of racist theorists who is a professor right here in Berkeley; nor do they organize against the University's racist hiring and firing practices; nor do they really support workers' strikes.

Instead, the Coalition has tried to gain the confidence and the votes of black workers in Berkeley by uniting with black politicians (such as the Black Caucus and Ron Dellums). This is of course a losing strategy, as the Chamber of Commerce can always find politicians of any race to work for **them.**

The Berkeley "Radicals"

You may be wondering where the world-famous Berkeley radicals are in all this. Most of them are in the Coalition, in the so-called "ideologues" faction. Various brands of Maoists and the New American Movement (NAM) lead that faction. The difference between them and the McGovern-style "pragmatists" in the Coalition is difficult to pin down but it seems to focus mainly on questions of rhetoric (should the Coalition call itself socialist, should the Coalition "support the anti-imperialist struggles of the Third World," should the enemy be called the ruling class, etc.) In any case, the liberal faction had the upper hand during the 1973 campaign.

The "Socialist Workers" Party ran its own candidates for City Council. Since they were a radical competition to the Coalition and were not a serious threat, the Berkeley **Daily Gazette** gave them extensive coverage.

The "Communist" Party was not visible anywhere, but an educated guess is that they are involved in both the "radical" and liberal factions of the Coalition.

The International "Socialists" attempted to pull together a "Labor Coalition for Berkeley Politics" in order to run a candidate for City Council. The attempt was a dismal failure as their convention attracted only a small circus of fellow trotskyists, as well as a handful of union bureaucrats and members of the CP. The main reason for the failure was the extreme sectarianism of the groups involved. Their main concern was "isolating the Coalition," without offering a practical working class alternative such as 30/40. Actually a member of I.S. did a token amount of work in the 30/40 campaign—while at least a dozen of them worked on the "labor" convention.

History of the 30/40 Campaign

It is against this background that the 30/40 campaign was built. From a working-class perspective this was by far the most significant issue. The campaign can be roughly divided into four stages, each with a different focus.

The Committee for a Shorter Work Week

The first stage was the setting up of the Committee for a Shorter Work Week (CSWW), and the writing up of the electoral initiative. From 10 to 25 people usually attended our initial meetings. The 30/40 initiative was written by members of the Committee, with advice from three or four lawyers. The restrictions of working within capitalist legality became obvious very quickly.

The constitutionality of legislating the length of the work week at the municipal level was debatable. The same was true of the taxing of businesses to pay for the City's 30/40 expense. For obvious political reasons, we went ahead with these two points. However we found that it was out-and-out **illegal** to include federal, state, county, district, and bank employees. To give the initiative some legal credibility, we did not include them under its provisions. This was serious; because it chopped off thousands of workers, including those who work for the (State) University.

AS A CONCESSION TO MANY PEOPLE'S sympathy for small businesses, the CSWW exempted those employing eight or less full-time workers from the provisions of the initiative. (PLP's perspective on this is that we oppose all forms of capitalism, large or small. We do not believe in uniting with businessmen of any size. Excluding small businesses was a compromise not with them, but with the "center"—the masses of workers and other oppressed groups in Berkeley—to whom it would have been harder to bring the 30/40 message had we included the smallest businesses in our attack.)

In spite of all this, the initiative still covered approximately 40,000 workers—enough to create 13,000 jobs if it were implemented. This includes the City itself as an employer, and private businesses that contract with, or need a business license from the City.

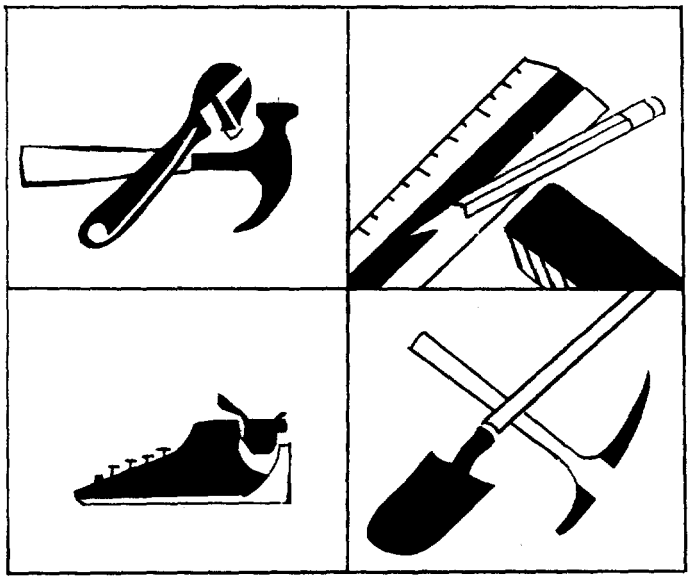
The Petition Campaign

To put the initiative on the ballot, we gathered almost 4,000 signatures, in about five weeks (2,500 were needed). 35 people helped to one extent or another in this effort. The overwhelming fact about that period was the warm reception we received from working people, on street corners and at supermarkets.

Once again we felt the limitations of bourgeois legality. We could not build our petition campaign in the factories or among campus workers, as most people who work in Berkeley live elsewhere and hence are not eligible to vote or sign petitions on issues that affect them. The reverse is also true: most workers who live in Berkeley are employed somewhere else. Non-citizens, who were some of the most enthusiastic about 30/40 because it is so hard for "foreigners" to get

BENEFIT DANCE 30 FOR 40

30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY
Initiative measure for Berkley City Ballot
April 73



$1.50

FINNISH HALL

1970 CHESNUT, BERK.

OCT. 27, 8-12 PM

2 BANDS
TRAILS & SUMMERHILL
DOOR PRIZE
LABOR DONATED

jobs, could not sign either. They will be a key part of the larger fight to win 30/40.

The response of students and intellectuals was mixed. We got a significant number of openly anti-working class and pro-business reactions, usually in the name of "economics." (Students who had held jobs at some point were infinitely more favorable than those who had never worked.) This shows the importance of building a worker-student alliance. If we don't, we are leaving the field open for the bosses to organize students and intellectuals against the working class.

Work Through the April Coalition

Once the initiative was on the ballot, we focussed our energy on going to committee and mass meetings of the April Coalition. We soon found out that all the factions opposed the 30/40 initiative. Meanwhile they "of course" supported the idea of the shorter work week as a long-term goal. We made little headway in our attempt to build support for the initiative among members of the Coalition. A small minority of rank-and-file activists did support it, though, and pushed it as they campaigned for Coalition candidates.

One of the major lessons of that period was that only in groups where the CSWW had actual members did we succeed in winning endorsements and involvement of others. Attending and addressing meetings as outsiders yielded next to nothing, and was a tactic we probably overemphasized. The only endorsements we received came from two unions and the "SUDS" neighborhood group. These were organizations where CSWW members had built a personal and political base of friends after being members in the organizations. Unfortunately, the CSWW had no members in the Coalition, at the outset. In the course of the campaign some contacts and ties were made, which was a step in the right direction.

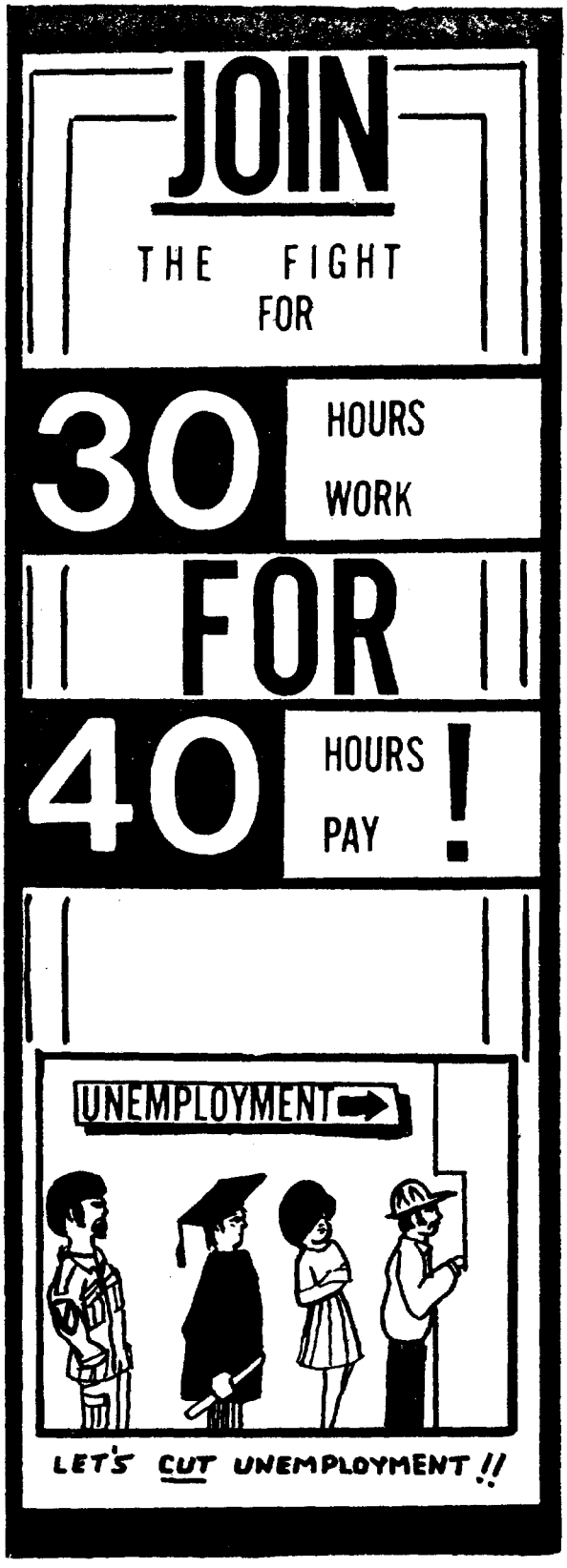
The Public Campaign

The last phase of our campaign was a public push to get people to vote for measure 1, the shorter work week initiative. This included some posters, a couple of newspaper ads, and mass distribution of leaflets. 40,000 leaflets were passed out in the course of the six months.

Our major emphasis was on door-to-door canvassing. This allowed us to discuss the politics of 30/40 in a deeper fashion, because we made an effort to strike up conversations with people instead of just leaving a piece of literature on their porch. One mistake we made was that of not choosing a few precincts where we would have concentrated and come back repeatedly in order to get to know the people and take the necessary time to challenge the arguments spread by the opposition. Instead, our approach was extensive: cover as much "ground" as possible.

A COMBINATION OF THE TWO TECHNIQUES is probably the correct perspective. The door-to-door work was an essential ingredient of our campaign. It is there that we sold the bulk of 2,000 question-and-answer pamphlets on 30/40.

Front page of Berkeley campaign pamphlet



This was important politically and financially for our campaign, as pamphlet sales were a main source of income. Also the pamphlet answered people's questions in a more thorough way than a leaflet or a short conversation could.

It is during that period that the Chamber of Commerce launched its offensive. They used ads and mailed their pamphlet to every voter in town. They were helped by a media blackout on 30/40. There will be more information on the Chamber of Commerce, as well as on the Coalition, below. But first let us look at the results of the vote.

Analysis of the Vote

Measure 1 got almost 7,000 votes, or 15% of the vote. This is one-third as many votes as the Coalition. It is more than any "independent" (non-coalition, non-Berkeley 4) candidate, even though some of them were much better financed than we were. It is twenty times more than the revisionist SWP candidates.

A precinct-by-precinct analysis reveals more. **Measure 1 received 25% to 40% of the vote in the black working-class neighborhoods. In 10 such precincts it got more votes than the Coalition.** And these were the areas where voter turnout was lowest, with only 50 or 60% of the eligible voters going to the polls. Considering how little work was done in the black community, these results show the dynamite potential of 30/40 as a unifying demand.

IN THE WEALTHY HILLS, 75% VOTED, WITH 0 to 10% favoring 30/40. In student areas, measure 1 won 10 to 20% of the votes. This analysis shows that the support for 30/40 among workers is greater than would be indicated by a casual look at the election returns. Nevertheless, some members of the Committee and no doubt others were disappointed or confused by what seemed to be a small vote for 30/40. This disappointment came because we did not know what to expect. We knew we could not win, but not whether we should expect 5 or 35% of the vote. We got 15% and many factors have to be remembered when considering this figure: it was the first time 30/40 initiative was tried; the base for 30/40 in the unions was only starting to emerge; our resources were limited; and finally our opposition was great.

The following is a description of our opposition and their arguments.

Business Attacks

Of the eight initiatives on the ballot, including four on police reform, one on decriminalization of marijuana, and one on neighborhood preservation (against the construction of high-rise buildings and the destruction of homes), only measures 1 and 8 generated any opposition from business. (Measure 8 called for the municipalization of PG&E, the electrical utility company.)

The following is an excerpt from a leaflet published by the Committee for a Shorter Work Week.

To defeat Measure 1, the Chamber of Commerce (C of C) set up a special task force. Some of the most powerful businessmen in town sit on the board of the C of C, including representatives of the Bank of America, Wells Fargo, and the plush Alta Bates hospital.

The task force has given birth to the so-called "Committee to Save Our Jobs," whose treasurer (Niall H. Quinn) happens also to be the treasurer of the C of C. By April 10, the Committee had already received $16,000 to oppose 30 for 40, one of the largest amounts given for or against any of the propositions.

Who gave the $16,000? Big Business. International corporations like Standard Oil and Levi-Strauss which don't even have branches in Berkeley gave one-third of the money. Seventeen business organizations gave 83% of the money. A partial list of the biggest givers includes the following:

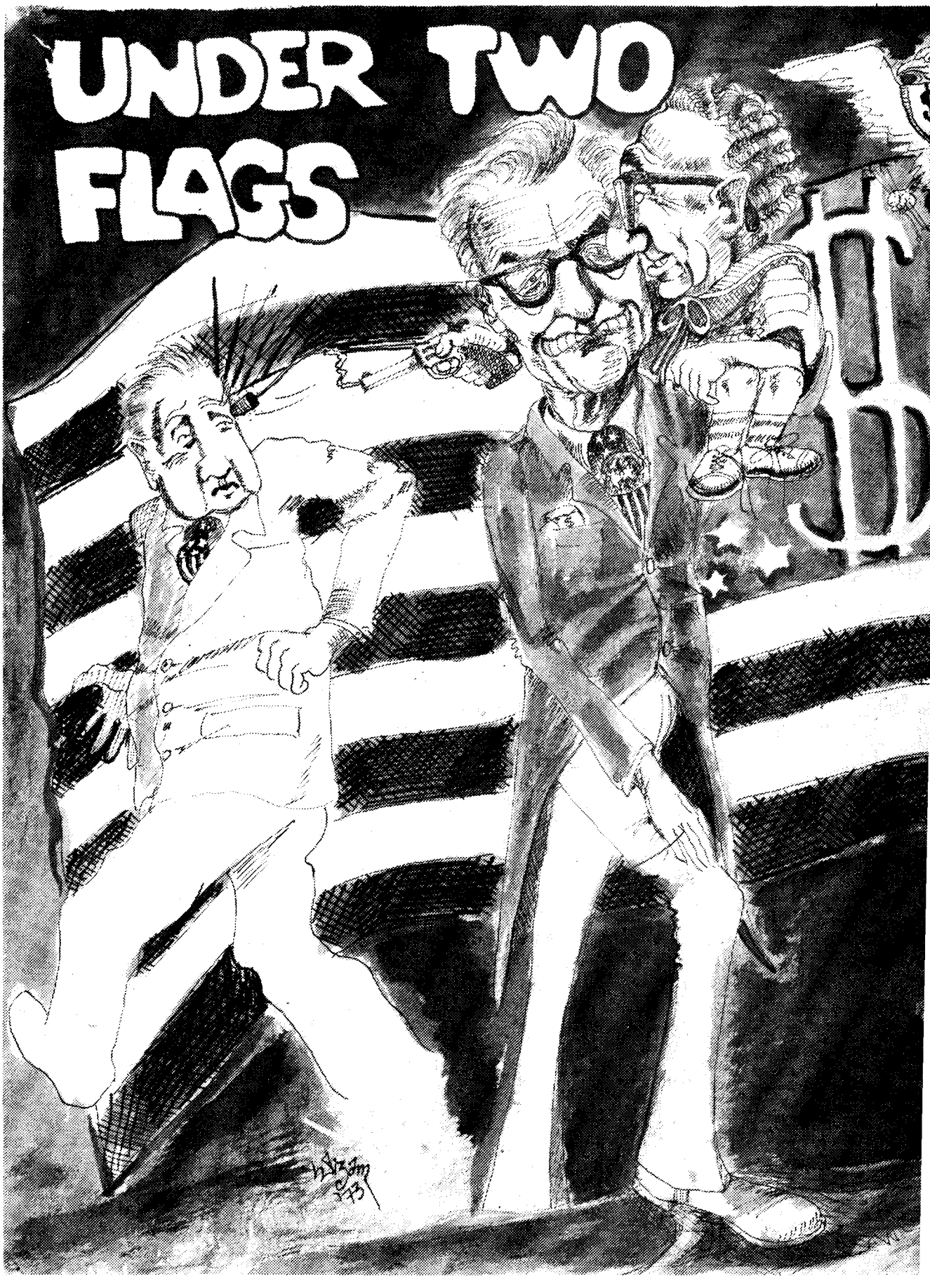
Crocker Corp (Crocker Bank)	$500
Del Monte	500
W. Haas (chmn of Levi's)	1000
Marriott Inn	499
Pacific Tel & Tel	1500
Penney's	1000
Southern Pacific	500
Standard Oil	450

Other major contributors include stock brokerage houses (N.Y. and S.F. stock exchange), C&H Sugar, and United California Bank. Cutter Labs, Berkeley's largest private business, has also contributed hundreds of dollars in free services to the anti-30 for 40 effort (which have not even been reported on the Committee's financial statement to the City). Marriott's vice-president is Nixon's brother, and the company gave the most to Nixon's '72 campaign. Marriott is also notoriously anti-union.

To answer the arguments put forward by the Chamber of Commerce:

1) **They say 30 for 40 is a crazy, unrealistic idea.** Similarly, fifty years ago employers were complaining about the "eight-hour madness." It took a fight, but the building of a militant union movement convinced them that the 8-hour day was not so crazy after all. This will happen again with the 30-hour week as the struggle is taken up by more and more unions nationwide.

2) **They say workers will be laid off.** Nonsense! Under Measure 1, with man-hours already cut by 25%, lay-offs could not happen. In fact, employers will be under extreme pressure to **hire** up to 33% more workers. The C of C admits this. As for their claim that part-time workers will be hit hardest, it's just the opposite: they will generally


UNDER TWO FLAGS

WORKERS ACTION MOVEMENT
FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM
P L P
30 HOURS WORK FOR 40 HOURS PAY
MAS PAGA
BAJEN
LOS PRECIOS
MOVIMIENTO
ACCIÓN TRABAJADOR
FACTORY
AUTO CORP.
SIT DOWN
STRIKE!
¡HUELGA!

get first crack at the thousands of new jobs that will open up.

3) **They say prices will go up.** Probably. But businesses will have to contend with competition from stores in neighboring cities. If you can shop cheaper in Oakland, local stores will know it and set their prices accordingly. Besides, 30 for 40 will be no more inflationary than the employers' own arbitrary price hikes. And remember, no amount of inflation can take away the 10 extra hours of free time 30 for 40 would give us every week.

4) **They say homeowners and taxpayers will have to pay for 30 for 40.** This is a blatant lie. Measure 1 explicitly states that 30 for 40 will be financed **only** through an increased business license fee. The City is not permitted to finance it through property tax or a sales tax.

5) **They say businesses will leave town.** Some will leave, of course. But consider: up to 13,000 new jobs will be created by Measure 1. To offset this, 26 large factories of 500 employees each or 1,300 small businesses would need to leave. This is obviously absurd; Berkeley is not about to become a ghost town. Indeed, new businesses would move in to replace those that left. Besides, it is very expensive to move a business, even to Oakland.

The C of C arguments were somewhat effective. We noticed a significant cooling of the people's response to our campaign. Unfortunately we did not have the means to mount a publicity effort on their scale to reach all the people they had lied to and give them our side of the story.

The "Radical" Establishment

The other opposition to 30/40 came from the misleaders of the people's movements. This was a critical factor. In the Coalition, the following arguments were raised against Measure 1:

- "It's a PL thing, the Coalition was not consulted about it before the campaign started."

This is not true. We met with the lawyers and economics students who made up the Coalition "labor" committee as early as we could. The PL-baiting did not go very far in convincing people Measure 1 was a bad thing, so it was quickly dropped.

- "There are better ways to create jobs."

We support all good ways to create jobs. We wish the Coalition had taken some action to create jobs.

- "30/40 does not solve the problem of on-the-job alienation."

It does not claim to!

- "There are other programs that are more urgent."

Not to the unemployed!

- "It does not benefit the most oppressed. It should be limited to those with incomes below $8,000 a year."

One of the key points of 30/40 is to increase the unity between employed and unemployed, and put the muscle of the union movement behind the struggles of the unemployed. What union would support a movement that applies only to people making less than $8,000 a year, especially with the rising cost of living? Besides, we want jobs to open up at all levels—skilled **and** unskilled.

- "It should be done in a more industrial town. It should be done through the unions, not elections."

We agreed, but also pointed out that an electoral campaign in Berkeley would **help both of these goals,** not hurt them.

- "It's too early to raise such a demand. It is unrealistic."

This argument is typical of the "tailist" politics of the Coalition. Far from attempting to provide some leadership to the mass movement, with programs that can unite the working class against the bosses, the Coalition would rather go whichever way the wind blows.

- "Businesses will not be able to afford it. They will raise prices and/or leave Berkeley."

As you can see, the Coalition swallowed the C of C line.

- "People who do not live in Berkeley would get some of the jobs that would be created."

So what? Besides, winning 30/40 will require a movement that breaks down all divisions among the people, including Berkeley chauvinism.

- "It does not increase City services."

It does not claim to.

- "It is illegal."

No more so than numerous Coalition projects, including rent control, according to the courts.

- "The initiative covers the police."

To exclude them would have guaranteed that the initiative had no legal credibility, because it would be "discriminatory." Moreover, it would guarantee that we would spend most of our time arguing about the nature of cops, instead of in favor of 30/40. (PLP's feeling about cops is not only that they should not get 30/40, but that they are 100% enemies of the working class. Some day we would like to see them all six feet under ground. But to get them there, we have to unify the working class in the fighting movement for 30/40. Legally excluding the cops at this stage would have been a diversion and hindered the movement.) Finally, this objection is petty, because 53,000 other people would also benefit.

THESE ARGUMENTS WERE RAISED TO cover up the lack of any real pro-working class outlook. Most of them came and went. The one about police was the major point made at Coalition platform-writing meetings (including one where about 500 people attended.) Curiously enough, not one of these arguments found its way into Coalition literature. In fact, the Coalition acted as if Measure 1 did not exist. (We do not know whether this was the result of pressure from members who supported it and did not want to see it attacked, or merely a tactical decision by the leadership, based on the results of a poll they ran in early March, which showed 33% support for 30/40.)

The pro-Coalition press, however, did mention Measure 1 after a four-month almost total news black-out. What they did print was a few sentences

each, consisting of lies and distortions. (See next section.)

"Radicals" Attack

The whole City Council signed the ballot statement against Measure 1. Besides conservatives, liberals and black nationalists, this included Coalition leader Hancock. Their statement was filled with distortions, which were later echoed throughout the liberal and radical press in this area, as well as in the mailing from a Democratic Party organization linked to Congressman Dellums and State Assemblyman Meade.

The University of California student newspaper, the Daily **Cal**, claimed Measure 1 would "benefit mainly policemen, firemen, and highly paid administrators, thereby raising taxes. They ignored the fact that it would have had no effect on taxes, except for the business license fee.

The muckraking bi-weekly **Bay Guardian** said Measure 1 would "arbitrarily give City workers" 30/40,. ignoring that it would cover private businesses as well.

Grassroots, the Coalition's newspaper, said Measure 1 would apply "only to bureaucrats," when in fact city administrators were specifically excluded.

These distortions were especially damaging because these papers are usually trusted by their readers. They probably cost the initiative thousands of votes. PLP made a serious mistake in not encouraging the CSWW to publically take on the Coalition leadership's attacks on 30/40 which are really attacks on the working class.

We underestimated how deeply entrenched the Coalition leadership is in its anti- working-class stance. We only understood too late that they would line up against us along with Standard Oil and Pacific Telephone.

If the disagreements between the Committee for a Shorter Work Week and the Coalition leadership are disagreements "within the movement" then why did all these Coalition-backed publications lie about Measure 1? Why couldn't they present the facts and their answers to our arguments? Not out of ignorance—they were thoroughly familiar with the initiative. **They did not argue politically because they knew their arguments would lose among masses of workers and students.** They knew that due to our small size finances and limited time, we would not be able to spread the truth broadly enough.

This is not to say that **all** Coalition leaders are corrupt. But some of them definitely are.

Evaluation of the Electoral Tactic

PLP used to advocate complete boycott of elections. This line was changed as part of our struggle against sectarianism. We can now begin to judge whether the change was justified.

The electoral approach to the fight for 30/40 has both advantages and inconveniences. On the positive side; by its very nature, the electoral campaign forced us to be public and bold in advancing 30/40. Moreover, at this stage of the mass movement, there still is a great deal of faith in elections, especially initiative drives. It is therefore easier to involve many people in small ways in the fight for 30/40 if we begin working with them at the level they feel most comfortable at.

Another point in favor of the electoral tactic is that it allows you to get significantly more media coverage than you would otherwise. This helps make 30/40 a live issue.

Finally, electoral campaigns can involve professionals and unemployed, who cannot fight for 30/40 through the unions.

Based on our experience these advantages outweigh the problems of electoral work. However, the problems are numerous and deep, and should not be underestimated. For one thing, elections cannot possibly win 30/40. The capitalists hold power and they use it. If even the mild law on de-criminalizing marijuana that was passed by Berkeley voters was thrown out by the courts, imagine what a judge would think of 30/40's "constitutionality!" The only way to win 30/40 is through mass struggle on the job, a struggle led by the trade unions' rank-and-file. Electoral campaigns are useful mainly in bringing the 30/40 issue to thousands of union members and other working people.

ANOTHER SHORTCOMING THAT WAS pointed out earlier is the constraint of working within capitalist legality. Finally, do not overestimate the help you can expect to get from the press. Even though many reporters were sympathetic and gave us a lot of coverage towards the beginning, this was quickly put to an end by their bosses, and an effective blackout of all news on 30/40 took place until a few days before the election. The CSWW found out that Mike Culbert, the editor of the Berkeley Gazette, had a conscious policy to ignore Measure 1. A small demonstration by the CSWW wrenched a small article from him. Meanwhile every other ballot issue was getting front-page pro and con feature articles. Of course whatever coverage we did get was often distorted and biased against us.

Rely on the people . . . build PLP . . .

The Committee for a Shorter Work Week was initiated by a two-person club of the Progressive Labor Party. The only way the campaign grew and survived a continuous stream of attacks was because its politics were sound and a consistent effort of base-building and reliance on the people was made. More than 60 people helped the campaign at one stage or another. Hundreds of dollars were raised: donations of hard-earned sums by members of the Committee, sales of pamphlets, two bake sales, and one fund-raising dinner. Many people we met while canvassing or leafletting got involved through attending informational "coffee klatsches" where we answered their questions about the initiative.

The coffee klatsches proved useful as an intermediate step between being curious about 30/40

and being involved in the campaign. We recommend this tactic for any type of political organizing.

Because the scope of electoral campaigns is so much broader than that of other tactics, PLP and our friends alone cannot put an initiative on the ballot or effectively campaign for it. It takes the involvement of large numbers of people. This means work—and a conscious, non-stop effort by us to broaden the campaign. 30/40 is a vanguard program, and activists for it are not going to fall from the sky. We must meet them among the people and convince them to get involved. Those of them who are most interested can be won to joining WAM and sometimes a PL study group. But many many more people—if we just make the effort and dare to ask them—will also help out, even if only in a fleeting manner (for example by circulating a single petition). We should recognize that these little bits of effort add up and can make for a truly mass campaign.

EVEN THOUGH DOZENS OF PEOPLE HELPED out, PLP was the backbone of the campaign, from beginning to end. We provided much political, strategic and tactical leadership to the CSWW. PLP is also at this point the main leadership in the national movement for 30/40. Also, to defeat any illusions about the capitalist system and its election hoax, and to allow the working class to take power through armed revolution, we all need to help build a marxist-leninist party such as PLP.

PLP's line must be brought to the masses of people. **Challenge** is our main weapon in that effort. We started selling it in off-campus Berkeley at about the same time as the 30/40 campaign started (we have been selling an average of 200 per issue, off campus). We took campaign literature along when we sold the paper, thereby meeting many people who got involved in the campaign. This helped people see that PLP's involvement in the struggle is more than demonstrations, rallies and paper selling. It showed that fighting for communism begins with the fight to improve our lives and unite against the bosses **now.**

EMPTY TALK IS CHEAP. ORGANIZING around the strategy of 30/40, at the same time as we spread our communist outlook, is a sound road of approach to revolution.

Even a little grass-roots democracy is too much for the bosses! (Excerpted from article on 30/40 in **San Francisco Business** magazine.)

"There are a couple of lessons to be learned from the ease with which this measure qualified for the ballot. First, the rules that govern qualifying petitions for the ballot must be tightened up. We must make it harder to put these things on the ballot."

"Secondly, the laws relating to voter registration must be overhauled. In short, we are not demanding sufficient standards of residence.

"Until the initiative and voter registration procedures are tightened up, business will be called upon to fight more battles. And business will run out of money before its enemies run out of energy."

(The last sentence is true, but not because of elections!)

The Berkeley 30/40 Initiative and the Unions

The Committee for a Shorter Work Week was dominated by white ex-students, as is Berkeley PLP. Not very many of us were union members. This was a weakness that limited our impact on the unions. It was compounded by a timid outlook, and the lack of an organizational form to carry out union-centered activities. Our small size and the "emergencies" of the electoral campaign led us to underemphasize the crucial importance of building a base for 30/40 in the unions. The following is a summary of our limited experiences.

Addressing union meetings as outsiders yielded very little. Part of the problem was a mistaken emphasis on asking for endorsements rather than focusing on meeting individual members who wanted to fight for the shorter work week. As for the few we did meet, we did not have anything to involve them in, as most of them lived, or worked, outside of Berkeley, and therefore could not participate in the **electoral** campaign.

THOSE OF US WHO WERE UNION MEMBERS raised 30/40 on the job, and in the union. The results were a bit more visible here. In AFSCME 1695 (university non-academic employees), we received an endorsement, and most shop stewards helped us circulate literature to their fellow workers, even though as State employees they would not have been affected by the initiative had it been implemented. The other union that endorsed Measure 1 was SEIU 535, Contra Costa County chapter (welfare workers). This union has a program to fight against the government's forced work programs, and advocates the shorter work week at no loss in pay as a way to create real jobs for people now on welfare. (Welfare workers themselves are losing jobs through a federal plan known as HR1.) Actual involvement of SEIU members in the campaign was small.

One member of the Committee worked at Colgate-Palmolive, one of the few factories in Berkeley. The response of workers **on the job** to 30/40 was terrific. A petition asking the leadership of ILWU to make 30 for 40 number one negotiating demand was circulated and received hundreds of signatures. In fact, it spread to other plants organized by the same local. It was presented at the Local 6 contract convention, along with eight other shorter work week resolutions from the rank-and-file.

The union leadership opposed the resolutions. A compromise motion for 30/40 was narrowly defeated because of a parliamentary trick: the leadership amended it to say that the union would fight for it through legislative means **only**. Their argument against including it in the contract demands is that it was too big for ILWU to win alone. Not a bad point, but why are they not busy contacting other unions to wage a united fight for 30/40?

THE HYPOCRISY OF THE LEADERSHIP WAS dramatized when they recommended a No vote on Measure 1, two weeks after having been mandated by the rank-and-file to fight for the shorter work week through legislative means! Their argument now was that 30/40 could not be won through elections—only through the contract. ILWU leadership has really degenerated since 1936 when they led a general strike for the 30-hour week in San Francisco.

Need Union Organizational Form

The main lesson of our union work is that 30/40 needs an organizational form in the unions. Had there been a chapter of WAM in Berkeley area, every single aspect of our union activity would have been enhanced. We would have had an organization within which to discuss our work for 30/40 in the unions. We would have had an organization in which to involve the union members we met. We could have played a role in building AFSCME 1695 and SEIU 535 in Contra Costa. (Both unions are rather weak.) WAM would not have been limited to involving Berkeley residents, and it could keep fighting after the election.

The East Bay chapter of WAM was founded three weeks after the election. Its prospects look good, as it already involves members and leaders of several unions. The national plans for 30/40 are also moving ahead. The MayDay, 1973, WAM convention of approximately 600 workers from East Coast, South, and Midwest, boldly resolved to build WAM and the 30/40 movement among auto, hospital, steel, and welfare workers, and among teachers and unemployed. In this nationwide movement, electoral campaigns can and must be used to **build WAM.**

PART TWO (conclusion)

Ireland: Concrete Class Analysis Essential to Understand Struggle

This is the second part of a comprehensive study of revolution and counter-revolution in Ireland. Part I, which appeared in the previous Issue of PL magazine, traced the roots of the current struggles by analysing the class forces shaped by the uneven development of capitalism exemplified by Ireland.

Part 2, which concludes the study, deals with Ireland since Partition. An appendix on the Communist movement in Ireland is included.

VIII—Ulster Since Partition

The first thing that the Ulster Unionists did after taking over the new state of Northern Ireland was to abandon the unionists in the rest of Ireland. The principal concern of the Ulster Unionists in the negotiations which led to the formation of the new state was to hold on to as large an area as they could possibly control without fear of an electoral defeat. From 1920 to 1968, political divisions in Ulster were defined in terms of Orange/Protestant/Unionist **versus** Green/Catholic/Nationalist. One of the anachronisms which have littered the landscape in Ulster is that the political party of the Catholic community (the Nationalist party) is a throwback to, and directly derived from, the party of Parnell, Redmond and Devlin—in other words, the party which ceased to exist in the rest of Ireland during the revolutionary period of 1916 to 1923. The Ulster Nationalists have been characterized by a mixture of the worst banalities of the Parnellites and the equally bankrupt policies of the "loyal opposition."

The first and lasting buttress of the power of the Ulster rulers has been their armed forces. Ulster, indeed, is a very good example of the real, coercive basis of any state power. In 1920, the "illegal" Ulster Volunteers were converted into a tri-partite police force: the full-time, regular Royal Ulster Constabulary (centrally-controlled and armed); the B Specials (a part-time, armed and sectarian militia force under the control of the local police officers); and the C Specials (a reserve force, to be called up in emergency-situations).

For practical purposes, we can disregard the C Specials, since they were never needed and were soon disbanded. However, the RUC and the "B-men" were a different question. Their first action marked the manner in which they were to be used by the Orange rulers for the next fifty years. Having been recruited almost entirely from the Orange lodges, the Ulster police force was essentially the armed wing of the Unionist Party-Orange Order structure. Therefore, if the Ulster rulers chose to so use them, they would be nothing short of a purely sectarian force: and the rulers did so choose—ostensibly in response to the (fairly limited) activities of the IRA in the north, the police and B Specials were launched on a pogrom in the Catholic ghettoes. The pogrom lasted over two years and resulted in more than three hundred deaths.

It is important to understand the reasons for the terror campaign. At its most elemental level, the terror was a pre-emptive move on the part of the Ulster ruling class, aimed at cowing the Catholic minority (it was launched, incidentally, shortly after a very militant united strike by both Catholic and Protestant workers in Belfast's shipyards) and at reassuring the Protestant majority that Home Rule had been avoided. There were also a number of ideological justifications which the Orange rulers were able to employ. The central one was the underlying racism which had previously been fostered in relation to the "native Irish"—that they were dirty, lazy, Catholic bandits. On top of this was a far more potent pair of arguments: first, that the Catholics were "disloyal"; and secondly, that if they should come to power (if they weren't put down first), the real rulers would be the Catholic Church.

THE CHARGES OF DISLOYALTY AND "ROME Rule" were then, and remain today, the most powerful elements in the Orange ideology of sectarian division against the Catholics. In the early 1920s, the Orange rulers had little difficulty in persuading the rank-and-file members of the Orange Order that Catholics were disloyal. After all, the IRA was recruited from and supported by no one else, and was opposed to Partition and the Ulster regime. As to the charge that "Home Rule means Rome Rule"—that has been more than adequately proved in the fifty years of the existence of the Republic of Ireland to the south. The idea that the Catholics were disloyal could be proved in more ways than one: pointing to the IRA was only the most obvious.

Throughout the 1920's, the Nationalists in Ulster pursued a thoroughly bankrupt policy of abstentionism (that is, running candidates for the Northern Ireland parliament who refused to take their seats). The bankruptcy of that policy lay in the fact that it had been a **tactic** developed by Sinn Fein (the militant nationalists in the Green movement) on the basis of mass support and armed force in reserve, and in the internal conflict with the more moderate sections of the nationalist movement. Applied by the Ulster Nationalists in a doctrinaire manner, with neither the mass support nor the armed force to back it up, **and** completely lacking the intention to do anything other than talk about how bad things were, the policy of abstention became simply another sign of the "disloyalty" of the Catholics.

Of course, politics in Ulster is no different from anywhere else, and there were deeper, more serious material reasons for the anti-Catholic pogrom and the formation of the B-men. In 1919, on the Clydeside (four hours from Belfast by ferry), the shipyards, the engineering works and the coal mines were in ferment. The Bolshevik revolution was barely two years old, and the most militant source of support for the Soviets came from the workers on Clydeside. The workers in Glasgow and the surrounding area were spearheading the drive towards the formation of a British Communist Party. Nearly total mutiny prevailed in the naval yards and there was even a (short-lived) workers' council holding a sort of dual power in the city of Glasgow.

Simultaneously, the shipyard and engineering workers of Belfast, of both religions, were engaged in a bitter strike there. On the international level, the crisis in imperialism which had sparked World War I had moved to a different level. Capitalism was still in trouble—insurrections in Turin and Milan, Berlin and Bavaria, Toulon and Glasgow, general strikes in Winnipeg, Seattle and Belfast. The English economy had not made major advances out of the war; the 1920's was a period of recessions leading to the major Depression of the 1930's. This sort of critical situation was the milieu in which the Ulster rulers were obliged to accentuate the strategy of divide and rule; and as we shall see, the Ulster bourgeoisie has resorted to precisely the same program at every crisis it has faced since 1920. Furthermore, they have had ample assistance from the so-called "disloyal" Catholic leaders.

THE KEY FACT IN THE HISTORY OF THE state of Northern Ireland has been the firm agreement—tacit but nonetheless real—between the Orange bourgeoisie and their Catholic "opponents" that the Ulster working class shall not unite against them. For one indicator of this question an examination of education in Northern Ireland is illuminating. It should come as no more than axiomatic to suggest that the educational system under capitalism is an agency of the capitalist state, an arm of the power of the bourgeoisie. In the case of the development of education in Ireland this becomes especially clear in light of the relationship between education and the sectarianism which divides the Ulster working class.

The origins of an Irish educational system lie in the 1830's when an attempt was made to set up a non-sectarian and public elementary school system. That attempt, after a reasonable start, foundered on two rocks—the Catholic hierarchy and their Anglican and Presbyterian counterparts. The charge which has so often been laid against the Catholic Church (in America as much as in Ireland), that it does not really recognize the secular state that it cannot control, is more than sufficiently based in the facts in Ireland. In the 1830's, the Catholic bishops demanded religious education, on **their** terms, built into the curricula of the new schools, and they were refused. They then withdrew from the various bodies which had been set up to run the schools, and therefore left the field (and the schools) wide open to the tender mercies of the more politically astute representatives of the Orange denominations. Having thus sabotaged the first attempt to create a modern school system, the Catholic hierarchy retreated into sectarian sniping from the sidelines—denouncing the schools as sectarian and heretical, and establishing their own (much inferior) system.

Indeed, every time that the English ruling class granted a major concession to the Church in social and educational matters, the Church reacted by sabotaging and then complaining that they were persecuted. If we follow this pattern through to the present situation in Ireland, we shall discover the method to the apparent madness.

From the very beginning of the state of Northern Ireland, the Catholic "community," in particular the Catholic petty-bourgeois leadership of that community, refused to have anything to do with the government—they substantiated the label of "disloyal." The original Education Act of Northern Ireland (1923) called for non-denominational education, and it was never, in practice, more than a pious and utopian dream. Sectarian schools sponsored by all the varieties of religious mania which have been spawned in Ulster soon sprang up like so many daisies. The Catholic Church announced that no teacher trained in the newly-established teachers' college in Ulster would be employed in a Catholic school; the Orangemen replied with denunciations of the non-sectarian idea in the following terms:

> ...the door is thrown open for a Bolshevist or an Atheist or a Roman Catholic to become a teacher in a Protestant school. (cited by Edwards, **Sins of the Fathers)**

IN 1930, NEW LEGISLATION WAS PASSED, ratifying the Protestant schools. By 1947, when the post-war Labor government enforced the unification of the Northern Ireland and English public educational systems, it was simply far too late. The result is that Northern Ireland has two educational systems—the public system (funded 100% by the state), dominated by the local school management boards which draw on the Orange

lodges for their officials; and the Catholic system (funded 70% by the state) which is controlled by priest-managers.

These bare political-economic facts hardly begin to express the real horror of the situation in the schools in Northern Ireland. The two school systems teach two entirely different (and both false) histories. Catholic children are taught to revere the list of Catholic Irish rebels, while Protestant children are taught to glory in their deliverance from Rome by the victory at the Boyne and the daring deeds of Carson. In every respect the two sides **are taught to hate each other.**

After the pogroms in the early 1920's, Ulster became quiescent for a period. The calm was fairly short-lived and the next outburst was particularly terrifying to the Ulster ruling class. The Depression naturally took an especially heavy toll in Northern Ireland, particularly among the Catholic workers, and in 1932 there were a series of mass demonstrations by unemployed Catholic workers on the Falls Road. One of these was savagely attacked by the police. Contrary to the normal expectations, the attack had the effect, not of cowing the victims, but of enraging the unemployed workers from the neighboring Protestant ghetto. For almost a week, Belfast was the scene of united action by both Catholic and Protestant workers (both the employed and the jobless) engaged in bitter riots in the ghetto areas. The effect was so traumatic that one journalist of the period wrote that,

> When Orangemen and Catholics, the lines of starvation already etched in their hollow cheeks, gripped hands and declared emotionally, "Never again will **they** divide us," there was consternation in the ranks of the professional politicians.

There was a good deal more than consternation—the rulers were horrified; but they had plenty of experience upon which to fall back in order to deal with the problem. The first move was to call out the B Specials and launch an attack on the Falls. For the next three years the entire Orange apparatus was mobilized on a full alert to prevent the recurrence of the 1932 riots: the government, the schools, the police, the Protestant churches and the Orange lodges were all involved. The Ulster Protestant League, a precursor to the contemporary Paisleyites and the Ulster Vanguard, employed both terror and demogoguery to bring the Protestant workers back under the Orange hegemony. Protestant employers were exhorted, from pulpit and parliament, to hire only "good Protestant lads and lassies" (the Minister of Agriculture). The Prime Minister declared that "all I boast is that we are a Protestant parliament and a Protestant state.'" The culmination of this campaign was another outburst of purely sectarian rioting, in 1935, in which the Catholic ghettoes were the victims—twelve people died in three weeks of terror, organized by the Ulster Protestant League and the B Specials, the storm-troopers of the Orange bourgeoisie.

EQUALLY, ON THE OTHER SIDE, THE CATH-olic Church and the Nationalist leaders did just about everything in their power to ensure that they suffered no loss of control over the "faithful." The mechanisms for ensuring this continued hegemony included the priestly management of the schools, which continues down to the present. Perhaps of even deepeer and longer-lasting significance was the Church's interpretation of the Papal ruling, **Ne Temere,** of 1908, concerning "mixed marriages," i.e., between Catholics and members of other denominations. The ruling itself was designed to make such marriages impossible, through the application of a total and outrageous double standard by which the Catholic partner was to demand everything and cede nothing. In most countries, the promulgation had no more effect than to ratify the already existing situation. In Ireland, however, the clergy went about the enforcement of the ruling with full rigor, with the result that the mingling of the working class in Ulster, particularly in Belfast, was set back.

Religion in Ireland takes on, in most respects, a hideous, exaggerated form; and the case of the relations between clergy and laity is no exception. The Catholic clergy's relationship with their parishioners has been described as "benevolent paternalism" (Edwards). It is a form of rank dictatorship, based on the totally elitist position and perspective of the priests, who are trained to look on the people as "their flock" (of sheep!?), as little children, and in general as half-wits. The priests usually, especially in the rural and urban ghetto areas, live in close proximity to the people, but they are set off from the people by their education, their (usually) better house, clothing and food; their parasitism; and most of all by the extension of religious authority into other areas of life.

A notable example of the last factor (apart from the ever-present factor of clerical control over education) can be found in the history of the attempt, in 1950, to introduce minimal social legislation covering Mother and Child care in the Republic of Ireland. The Minister of Health introduced a Bill intended to cover all pregnant women and to provide post-natal care for both mother and child. The Catholic hierarchy denounced the idea, in a series of letters to the government, on the grounds that it would interfere with the "sacred and delicate" realm of marriage. The Bill was withdrawn, the Minister was forced to resign and he subsequently published the correspondence with the bishops—and once again the Orange bourgeoisie was supplied with a mass of evidence to support their contention the "Home Rule is Rome Rule." While the Orange rulers threaten the Protestant workers with that fate worse than death—rule by the Catholic bishops—the Catholic leaders in Ulster promise the Catholic workers salvation in the Kingdom of Heaven or the Republic of Ireland—whichever comes first.

Of course, it is important to note that the Catholic hierarchy's tendency towards sectarianism and exclusiveness was given every possible encouragement by the Orange ruling class (over vocal opposition from the right-wing, demagogic elements within the Orange movement). Thus, the Orange rulers have provided state-aid to the Catholic schools; they have enabled the Catholic Church to create a duplicate set of social-welfare facilities in Northern Ireland; and they have provided the Church with plenty of opportunity to maintain their control over the Catholic ghettoes. The Catholic middle class, through its political agency, the utterly bankrupt Nationalist Party, has been granted a minority share in the government of the state (prior to 1968). In the areas where electoral rigging (gerrymandering) has been impossible (in Newry and parts of County Tyrone), the Nationalists have used their part of the local state-power in exactly the same sectarian and discriminatory manner as the Orange bourgeoisie.

THE POGROM LAUNCHED IN 1935 ABATED by the end of that year, but the essentially fascist organizations which the Orange rulers had created were maintained. The Orange regime depended ultimately upon three organs of direct coercive power, integrated into the hegemonic political structures created in the period leading up to 1920. It is important to describe the way in which the Ulster bourgeoisie ruled—the mechanisms and the process—and to recognize the fact that the real fear in the ranks of the Orange ruling class has always been that they would lose control over the Orange working class. The principal political organ of the power of the Ulster bourgeoisie was and is the Unionist Party, dedicated to union with Britain; often to the extent that the Unionist dedication has been **plus royaliste que le roi**—more devoted to union than their allies in the English ruling class. Particularly since the beginning of the present crisis, this dedication on the part of the Ulster Unionists has appeared to some members of the English ruling class as possibly a trifle too expensive.

The Unionist party falls into the traditional structural pattern of bourgeois political parties—hegemonic control is wielded by the bourgeoisie, who rely on petty-bourgeois members for the basic work. The leadership of the Unionist party consists of an alliance between the landed and industrial elements—an alliance which has come under considerable strain since the crisis burst into the open in 1968. (Developments since 1968 will be considered in more detail below.)

More important than the Unionist party, however, is the role of the Orange Order in Ulster politics. The real hegemony of the Orange ruling class is exercised through the Orange lodges, which have served to tie the Protestant working class to "their" bosses on the negative basis of fear of rule from Dublin, and the far more important positive factors of the social role of the Order. Organized on the basis of lodges, based on neighborhoods (and usually around the local chapel), the Orange Order provides an integrated pattern of religious, social and political solidarity. Leisure activities and many social-welfare functions are handled by the lodges. Of course, even in the most solidly working-class areas of Belfast, the lodges are led and dominated by the petty-bourgeois members (shop-keepers or minor state functionaries or clergymen). The Orange Order plays, in Ulster, the same sort of integrative role that strong union movements do in the rest of Europe. In England, the working-men's clubs; in Ulster, the Orange lodges.

Backing up the essentially moral-ideological force of the Orange lodges, and expressing their "protestant" ideology in a much more direct and forceful manner, are the two police forces and the quasi-illegal armed organizations. The main distinction between the regular police (the Royal Ulster Constabulary) and the B Specials (until their disbandment in 1969) was the way in which they were employed by the Orange bourgeoisie. The RUC was supposedly non-sectarian (the law providing for their formation included processes for the recruitment of Catholics, though the highest level of Catholic enrollment in the RUC was 11%, as opposed to a proportion of closer to 40% in the total population), and supposedly concerned with law-enforcement. The RUC was the public and openly-recognized force; the dirty jobs, especially of repression, were restricted to the B Specials. The Specials did the work which the rulers required done on the quiet—pogroms and terror—jobs which if they had been done by the RUC would have been cause for intervention in Northern Ireland's affairs by the English rulers.

Alongside these two forces, and drawing most of their manpower from them, have been a series of "illegal" and unofficial bodies, all of which have been based on the more extreme versions of the official "Protestant" ideology of Northern Ireland. All of these bodies, from Carson's Ulster Volunteers through the Ulster Protestant League to the contemporary Ulster Vanguard, have been essentially fascist—that is, they serve military needs of the bourgeoisie which cannot be met by the regular armed force of the "democratic" bourgeois state; and they have received arms and leadership from the top ranks of the Orange Order. This has not, of course, been a conspiracy, but simply the normal operating procedure of the Ulster ruling class, which has always felt itself to be threatened by the "disloyalty" (active and potential) of the Catholics, and the even greater danger of the potential class independence of the Protestant workers.

THE ULSTER RULERS HAVE EMPLOYED A variety of weapons to ensure their continued control over the Protestant workers—ranging from the crude (but effective) demagoguery of people like Paisley to the provision of marginally better conditions to the Protestant workers. The latter ranges across the full panoply of the prerogatives of contemporary bourgeois state power—Protestant workers suffer a slightly lower unemployment rate, they are invariably higher on the

waiting-lists for public housing, their jobs are more secure (since the Orange Order extends into the plants in the persons of the foremen and union representatives), Protestant areas obtain facilities more readily than Catholic ones. The list is a long one and should be rapidly familiar to anyone who has examined the operation of racism in North America. One of the biggest tools in the Orange bourgeoisie's hands is the negative example of the Republic to the south—not only is that state dominated by the Catholic Church, but more significantly, the social welfare provisions in the Republic are considerably inferior to those available in the north.

The key to the development of Ulster's economy is that it has gone through a profound change. From being (in the period from 1880 to 1930) a central and integral part of the British economy, Ulster has been gradually bled and run down until it reached its present status—that of the poor, peripheral cousin. The second World War had the same meaning for the Ulster bourgeoisie as it had for capitalism around the world; it provided temporary relief from the Depression. In Ulster this took the form of fresh investment capital from England, in search of safety from the bombs falling on England and intensively steered into the ship-building and aircraft industries. The mini-boom and partial diversification of the Ulster economy lasted until the mid-1950's.

The crisis which exploded in 1968 had been gathering steam in the economic structures of Ulster since, at least, 1956, the year of the first major credit squeeze in post-war Europe. Two factors combined in Ulster to create a long-term recession (anywhere else in the capitalist world the situation would have been regarded as a full-scale depression). The first was a shortage of liquid capital—a commodity which was absolutely essential in Ulster's heavily capital-intensive engineering, aircraft and shipbuilding industries, the industries upon which Ulster's economy depended and which were in need of modernization. The other factor was a failure common to the entire **British** economy. No longer enjoying a perfect monopoly over its Empire, the English ruling class was obliged to face the open market and was unable to compete; in the specific case of Ulster, with the German and Japanese shipyards.

From the late 1950's, then, the Ulster economy has depended upon charity, the English ruling class' willingness to subsidize the Belfast aircraft industry with large government orders. The public finances supplied from England has not been matched by private capital—the net result being that the supply of public funds became simple subsidies for continued inefficiency. Furthermore, since 1960 at least, Ulster has been an area of net capital outflow. In this respect, it resembles the "depressed areas" of Canada (the Atlantic Provinces, Eastern Quebec) and it serves the same functions for the British economy. The English government's annual subsidy to Ulster of 100 million pounds sterling is easily outweighed by the annual outflow of 420 millions. Added to this are the combined effects of cheaper labor-power and a tied market. Not only is Ulster as a whole an area of cheap labor, structurally underdeveloped within the framework of the British economy; but within Ulster the only area which has enjoyed the fruits of major industrial development is the Lagan valley (the Belfast area). Part of the reason for this has been the Orange bourgeoisie's desire to encourage emigration (especially of Catholics) from the western, rural areas of the province, preferably out of Ulster altogether, but also to Derry and Belfast where they could be contained in the ghettoes.

IN AN ATTEMPT TO DEAL WITH THE DEveloping political and economic crisis in Ulster, the ruling class created two successive "development" programs. Both had exactly the same impact. Public finance was loaned (usually at very low or non-existent interest rates) to private companies which would agree to open operations in Ulster—often with added incentives in the form of government-supplied plants and up to five years tax-free operations. The companies which opened in Ulster often followed a similar pattern—operating tax-free for five years and then pulling out. In effect, the Ulster bourgeoisie provided cheap labor and investment-free profits.

Alongside these material factors there was a further element in the developing crisis, a political factor which was built into the sectarian politics of the Ulster rulers. The Catholic middle class, upon whom the Orange bourgeoisie relied to control the Catholic working class, was increasingly reluctant to play that role so long as they were excluded from the major part of the fruits of the system. Like the black middle class in the U.S. or the French-speaking middle class in Quebec, the Catholic middle class in Ulster follow their **class** interests, which objectively align them with the Orange rulers; but because they are restricted to "serving" the Catholic sector of the population, they tend to adopt a nationalist politics in opposition to the sectarianism which cuts them off from the real spoils. Thus. when the crisis broke in 1968, the Catholic middle class was split between impotence and tacit alliance with the radical forces.

The immediate material factors which went to create the crisis consisted essentially of the living conditions of the masses in Ulster. Housing consists primarily of either relics of the Industrial Revolution—back-to-back, two up-two down row housing which stretches for miles in both the Catholic and Protestant working class areas—or modern, jerry-built, monotonous rows of subdivisions. In Derry, 54% of the homes lack exclusive use of a bath; 16% have no sink or hand-basin. Unemployment in Ulster, since the mid-1960's, has ranged from the official average figure of 7%, to the real figure of a constant 25% in the Catholic ghettoes in Derry. In Belfast, the figure was slightly lower—20% for Catholics and possibly 15% for Protestants. Wages in Ireland—

both in Ulster and in the Republic—are among the lowest in Europe. Combined with a high level of unemployment, this means a plentiful supply of cheap, potential scab labor for the English ruling class.

IX—The Contradictions Explode

In October 1964, in the midst of a British general election, the Ulster and English ruling classes got a foretaste of what was in store for them in the coming crisis. The West Belfast constituency (i.e., the Catholic ghetto area of the Falls Road) boasted a candidate for the Republican Labor party (essentially a maverick mixture of social democratic and Sinn Fein politics). The storefront office of the party sported a flag of the Republic—an action which is illegal in Ulster, as a contravention of the Flags and Emblems Act, 1954, on the grounds that the display of such designated flags and emblems constitutes a provocation against the loyalist members of the Ulster community. That was Paisley's line in the telegram he sent to the Home Minister. Dr. Ian Paisley, moderator of the "Free Presbyterian Church," and founder-leader of the Ulster Protestant Action movement, demanded that the police enforce the law—even though the flag was being displayed in the heart of the working class Catholic ghetto and therefore unlikely to provoke many loyalists. (Needless to say, the Act was specifically designed as discriminatory—only Green nationalist symbols were outlawed).

The Orange rulers sent the RUC into the Falls, equipped with sten guns, armored cars, water cannon and full riot-gear. Three nights of street fighting ensued, in which the police suffered a major defeat—their first at the hands of the Belfast working class since 1935. Moreover, they were defeated in public, via the British television coverage of the electoral campaign. More important than the defeat of the police, however, was the fact that precisely those middle-class Catholic elements in the Nationalist party upon whom the Orange rulers were relying were ignored. The Catholic workers were not so much defending a flag, as their neighborhood against a detested and clearly seen agent of the Ulster state.

The next three years were relatively quiet—the most noise came from Paisley and his growing right-wing opposition to the signs of **rapprochement** between the Orange and Green rulers of the two parts of Ireland. During that period, the two prime ministers, Lemass and O'Neill, met for talks on three occasions, each time to more strident cries of "sell-out" from Paisley.

A central question to bear in mind as we follow the sequence of events from the "tricolor riots" (the flag of the Republic is a green, white and gold tricolor) to the present, is the relationship between the Ulster and Irish ruling classes and the Orange and Green extremists. Why and how have the latter been tolerated?

THROUGHOUT THE 1960's, THE O'NEILL government made a major attempt to "modernize" the politics of Ulster—at least, that was the theme which all the liberal commentators hit upon for their background stories on Ulster for the English media. The truth, of course, was slightly different. The Ulster ruling class was quite well aware that unrest, violence, "extremism" are bad for business; they frighten away potential investors and are also likely to endanger relations with the dominant forces in the English ruling class—upon whom the Ulster bourgeoisie is, today, utterly dependent. So O'Neill's "moderation" and liberalism consisted primarily of an attempt to downplay the **symbols** of Orangeism, without, naturally, forsaking any of the real power of the Orange order of things. But this stratagem immediately ran into problems because it was impossible for O'Neill and the rest of the Orange bourgeoisie to explain the operation in such open terms to the Orange petty-bourgeoisie and working class people who form the rank and file of the Orange movement, and for whom the ideology of Orangeism was a real bulwark against the threat of "Republicanism." Enter Ian Paisley.

Considerable time and effort has been spent by the whole range of so-called "leftists" to present Paisley as carrier of a "classical fascism of the petty-bourgeoisie," a notion which can be shown to be nonsense both historically and in terms of the class basis of fascism. At the first, Paisley was very much the "voice crying in the wilderness," an apparently lone individual with a few crazed supporters. This view was particularly adopted by the Catholic middle class, especially those who had settled for the role of junior partner in running the Ulster state. Of course, the perspective of the Catholic petty-bourgeoisie is somewhat short-sighted; in fact, it is blind to the structural and systematic realities of the Orange Order and completely devoid of any historical perspective, absent-mindedly forgetting the fact that the Orange Order has ruled Ulster with more or less brutal efficiency for fifty years. The Orange rulers (particularly the "moderates" like O'Neill) encouraged the Catholic middle class reaction to Paisley, not only because it reduced the possibility of public exposure of the links between moderate and extreme in the Orange Order, but also because the Orange ruling class was divided internally.

The crisis in Ulster developed to the proportions that it did because it was so much more than just the old Catholic-versus-Protestant sectarian struggle. A key issue, as the crisis developed, was a split within the ranks of the Orange bourgeoisie. The potential for fascism in Ulster, as anywhere else, derives from the split in the bourgeoisie and the possibility of that split engendering revolutionary activity on the part of the working class: fascism will come from the high Orange bourgeoisie. People like Paisley will be tools, not the originators and manipulators.

The spark that detonated the Ulster crisis was so small that anywhere else it would have gone

un-noticed. But the contradictions had reached such a point in Northern Ireland, that even the most ineptly liberal demonstration for "civil rights" simply exploded the Ulster political system. The significance of the first moves was that they activated mass working-class political action, and simultaneously breached the whole structure of sectarianism.

THE SOURCE OF THE FIRST MOVES WAS the Civil Rights Association (CRA)—an alliance of newly active middle-class liberals and relics of the revisionist Communist Party of Northern Ireland (CPNI) and the republicans from the Sinn Fein movement. One aspect of the CRA was that the leading force, at first, was the middle class element—those people who, in England, the Republic or any other fairly developed bourgeois democracy, would have gravitated to the liberal or social-democratic parties, to the sort of politics which had been effectively precluded in Ulster by the essentially monolithic structure of the Ulster state's relationship to the Orange Order.

The only thing which the CRA actually demanded was "an end to discrimination," particularly in housing and employment. The real significance of the CRA did not lie in what they demanded, nor in what they did. Rather it was a question of what the CRA said about themselves, and what the Orange government said about them. By focusing upon civil rights—all the formal rights which citizens are supposed to enjoy in any bourgeois democracy—the CRA by-passed the basic sectarian building-blocks of Ulster politics. The very thing that the Unionists most feared had arrived—a political organization which denied the validity of the compact between Unionist and Nationalist parties which had formed the basis of Ulster politics for close to fifty years. It is astounding—from only five years later—that the CRA really had that impact on the Ulster ruling class; for, in fact, the CRA was a very timid, utterly reformist and essentially utopian organization. But because "discrimination" in Ulster is seen to exist on sectarian lines, the Ulster rulers were able to paint the CRA with the green brush as anti-partitionist and papist, disloyal and republican.

The first direct action taken by the CRA followed the example of a growing mass movement which existed in London—the squatters' direct action attacks on the housing shortage. Since one of the primary forms of Orange power at the local level has consisted of discrimination in the distribution of publicly-owned housing, the first target was a typical case of Orange practice. A publicly-owned house in Dungannon—an Orange stronghold in a predominantly Green county—had been allotted by the local council to a young single woman, the secretary of the local Unionist candidate in the upcoming election. In normal circumstances, this would have aroused nothing more than cynical recognition of the facts of life under the Orange Order. But the CRA turned it into a **cause celebre** by the simple expedient of moving one of the many homeless Catholic families in the town into the house, in front of cameras from the British television networks.

The action was short-lived. The family was soon evicted. The CRA announced a protest march in Dungannon. The Unionist response was to set their accustomed sectarian propaganda machine into operation: the CRA was quickly denounced as provocative, anti-Unionist, Roman Catholic, Republican, subversive; and the march was restricted to the Catholic area of the town. But the old ploy no longer worked as smoothly as in the past. In fact, it backfired, because, in the first place, the CRA insisted on breaking all the rules of the Ulster game by directing their attention and their demands towards the English government in London; and further, because there existed in Ulster one breach in the monolithic power of the Unionist/Nationalist combine, one place where sectarianism was not the rule.

The area of that crucial failure of the hegemony of the Ulster ruling class was the one really non-sectarian institution in Northern Ireland—Queen's University in Belfast. Students had already participated in the development of the CRA, and in the autumn of 1968 a radical student movement similar to the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was organized at Queen's. Taking the name of People's Democracy (PD), this organization was a loose coalition of different political tendencies—primarily Trotskyite and New Leftist—which, despite numerous weaknesses and political naivetes, pushed Ulster into open warfare, and brought the Ulster working class onto the stage.

X—Burntollet to Belfast: Police Riot to Workers' Uprising

The PD-led march across the 90 miles of Ulster, from Belfast to Derry, in January 1969, was the point at which the Orange ruling class decided to attempt to crush the opposition before it could grow any larger.

The rulers had already made one attempt, which had backfired badly. On October 5, 1968, a CRA demonstration in Derry—led by the distinctly middle class elements which had founded that organization, but comprising large numbers of younger working-class people of both religions—was trapped by the RUC in a narrow street and savagely attacked. But the demonstrators fought back, and street-fighting continued for several hours, despite the attempts of the middle class liberals and revisionists in the CRA leadership to enforce Ghandian pacifism. The Minister of Home Affairs, who ordered the attack, was Brian McConnell, soon to be replaced by William Craig, the current head of the Ulster Vanguard.

The reasoning of the Ulster ruling class seems to have been quite simple. If the RUC couldn't do the job, then they were obliged to call out the specialists—the B Specials. The basic Orange assumption had been, from the start, that the CRA was no more than the old wolf, the IRA's "revolutionary republicanism," dressed up as a

liberal sheep. Two factors aided the Orange rulers in coming to that decision: first, the newly proclaimed "socialist" program of the refurbished Sinn Fein/IRA under Cathal Goulding, which was centered on the Third International perspective of the United Front; and secondly, the visible presence of people known by the Ulster security police as republicans and/or active IRA members and supporters in the role of marshals at CRA demonstrations.

Therefore, when PD announced its plans for a demonstration across Ulster in support of the civil rights campaign, there were two responses from the Ulster ruling class. On the right, Paisley and his major lieutenant (a mathematics teacher at Belfast College of Technology, Ronald Bunting) spent the weeks leading up to the march criss-crossing Ulster, from one Orange lodge to another, appealing to the "loyalist" Orangemen to defend "their" Protestant constitution from the "godless papists" and the "communist and republican rabble-rousers." Simultaneously, the "moderate" elements in the Ulster government consulted with, co-ordinated and directed police activities in regard to the march.

The first lesson that the marchers learned was indicative of the low level of political development of PD, but would, on the other hand, have come as no surprise at all to the working-class Catholics of Belfast or Derry. That lesson was simple—the police did not "serve and protect" anyone or anything other than their bourgeois masters and the bourgeois state. The "protection" they offered to the marchers consisted of sectarian harassment and open co-operation with the Paisleyite forces which turned out to oppose the marchers at every step along the route. But the harassment and open consorting with the Paisleyites along the first 85 miles of the march were as nothing in comparison with the climax of the march on the outskirts of Derry.

On the last day, outside a village named Burntollet, the marchers were led, by their RUC "protective" escort, along a detour into an ambush prepared by the Specials. The ambush was conceived, organized and led by the local Orange leadership—landowners and large and small capitalists—employing their workers as B-men, with the full and active co-operation of the RUC officers involved in the march. For four hours, the marchers were beaten with cudgels by the Specials and batons by the police (RUC); and showered with rocks (weighing several pounds each, and specially delivered and piled in the fields adjoining the road on the previous night, from a quarry owned by a leading local Orangeman). The marchers eventually reached Derry's city-center where

1916: Irish workers seize Dublin post office.

they held a rally. Several hours later, after considerable drinking-time had elapsed, the RUC and Specials launched an open assault on the Catholic Bogside ghetto—smashing windows and beating up pedestrians, cursing and jeering at the inhabitants in general.

THERE ARE TWO VERY IMPORTANT CONsiderations about the ambush at Burntollet and the attack on the Bogside which followed. In the first place, the Burntollet ambush was organized, **not** by Paisley and Bunting, but by the local Orange bosses; not by the so-called extremists but the mainstream, long-standing pillars of the rule of the Orange bourgeoisie. The RUC played a largely passive role at Burntollet, leaving most of the work to the Specials, but there was considerable discussion of tactics between the leading police officials and the leaders of the Specials' squads. The second point is that since racism is a necessary and systematic aspect of any potentially fascist force, the attack on the Bogside must be seen as part of an overall attempt by the Ulster ruling class to intimidate through terror the potential mass support for the CRA and PD. The report of the Cameron Commission, which was ordered by the English government, attempted to depict that police riot as the activity of a number of individual cops, acting **against** orders, discipline and leadership. Nothing could have been further from the reality—the police in Derry were simply doing the same job that they had been accustomed to do for fifty years: terrorizing the people whom the Orange regime most oppressed.

During the first half of 1969 two separate tendencies began to make themselves felt. At the top, the Orange regime was faced with a dangerous split within its ranks. Superficially, the split can be portrayed in terms of moderates **versus** extremists; but it is more accurate to examine it in terms of growing dissension between the industrial capitalist forces and the landed interests. The former had been content to leave the active direction of the state in the hands of the scions of landed gentry, but as it became increasingly clear that O'Neill was unable to handle the situation the demand for his replacement became more stident within Orange ranks. At the same time, there was a less visible split developing among the civil rights "movement," between the CRA and the more radical forces grouped around PD. The latter were moving to the left, increasingly critical of the CRA's timid policy of marches and protests. But, while there was clearly a basis in the political economy of Ulster for a socialist movement, the PD forces made a series of disastrous errors, the net result of which was to throw the situation back into the hands of the worst sectarian forces.

In April, the police in Derry attacked the Bogside again, causing the death of one man and numerous injuries, plus large amounts of damage to people's homes. The promised reforms, especially in regard to the demands for "one man—one vote," the end of mass disfranchisement in local elections, had not materialized; marches, demonsteations and police brutality continued. Then, in April, a series of major bombings occurred in east Ulster, around Belfast; public utilities, power lines, water supplies and post offices were the principal targets. The government immediately blamed the IRA, and called up one thousand more Specials.

In fact, as was made clear later, the sabotage on that occasion was the work of the Ulster Volunteer Force (a paramilitary offshoot of the Orange Order) for the purpose of creating a state of emergency in which O'Neill could be forced out of office. The UVF was directly descended from, and modeled on, Carson's Volunteers, and, in 1971, was to become the Ulster Vanguard. In essence, the UVF was an unofficial auxiliary arm of the Orange state, parallel to the Specials; and after the latters' "disbandment" by the British government, the Specials were absorbed into the UVF/Vanguard, creating a large-scale fascist force at the disposal of the Orange ruling class.

EVERY YEAR THERE ARE TWO ANNIVERsaries which are celebrated by the Orange Order (and two allied, more elitist bodies, the Royal Black Institution and the Apprentice Boys of Derry). The purpose of the celebration of these anniversaries—July 12 in Belfast (the Battle of the Boyne) and August 12 in Derry (the raising of the Jacobite siege of that city by the Williamite army) —is to flaunt the continuation of Orange power and to maintain the ideological hegemony of Orangeism over the Protestant working class through the annual reminders of the need for vigilance and class collaboration in the face of the Catholic "threat." (The original events both occurred in 1689).

In 1969, the two anniversaries were celebrated on a large scale. Of course, since they were Orange parades, they involved no "provocation" and were not banned by the government, as had been several proposed PD and CRA demonstrations. July 12 in Belfast passed off peacefully; there was a minor riot on August 2 in Belfast when an Orange demonstration was attacked by Catholics. But the major outbreak in 1969, without question—**and the one in which the possibility of a real workers' uprising appeared most clearly**—took place on and after August 12.

The Orange organizations marched through Derry (including in their route passage along the old city walls, which look down, directly and physically, on the Bogside ghetto), in a fresh, calculated reassertion of the Orange hegemony and in defiance of attempts by the British and Irish Republican governments to dissuade them. On the same evening, in response to a minor and isolated incident of stone-throwing by a group of young Catholics, a mixed army of RUC, B Specials and Paisleyites launched a major assault on the Bogside. The military terms are necessary because the intention was quite explicit—to invade, occupy and crush the ghetto, to destroy the resistance which had been growing in organized strength since the January attack.

It is essential, at this point, to describe the demography of the city of Derry. The majority of the population is Catholic and working class, with an enormous and long-standing unemployment rate, concentrated in two ghettoes—the Bogside, inner-city row-housing and Creggan, newer sub-divisional development adjoining the Bogside. The working-class Bogsiders had already faced the armed might of the Ulster state twice in 1969, in January and April. In January, the RUC had been the victors, through the occasion of two factors—superior force and organization combined with the element of surprise. In April, the battle had been inconclusive. When the police attacked, the workers had retreated and prepared to fight; barricades were erected; mass-based, block-by-block commune-type organization had been forged in advance; and weapons were available—the government was obliged to withdraw the cops.

In August, the Orange state declared war on the Catholic masses in Derry. The police were fully armed—the complete panoply of riot-gear, Saracen armored cars, water-cannon, CS gas, sub-machine guns. On the first night, the police penetrated fairly deep into the ghetto, but were then repulsed to the edge of the area by a massive barrage of Molotov cocktails which were launched from the roofs of a pair of high-rise buildings. Barricades went up that night and for the next three days the Bogside was under siege, but the police and Specials were entirely unable to breach the Bogsiders' defensive lines. Moreover, the police began to lose badly. They suffered far heavier casualties than the Bogsiders; fully two-thirds of the police forces involved in the battle were casualties by the end of the third day.

On the second day of the siege, the Bogside consolidated the block organizations into what was essentially a Commune—medical and military facilities took precedence, the former particularly in the light of the massive amounts of gas with which the area was flooded by the RUC. The military organization of the Bogsiders was completely democratic; at that point in time, the IRA was neither militarily nor politically prepared to carry out the necessary actions, which therefore devolved upon the people directly. Thus, for instance, the English mass media carried "shocking" pictures of the production, distribution and exchange of Molotov cocktails by, respectively, the 8 to 10 year olds, 10 to 12 year olds, and the teenagers and older. By the third day, it was abundantly clear, to the rulers, that the people had won. A truce was declared, the police were withdrawn and the British Army was brought into Derry to "keep the peace."

IF DERRY WAS A WORKING-CLASS BATTLE fought directly between the people and the state, the situation was completely different in Belfast. On the second day of the fighting in Derry, the CRA and PD forces involved had issued an appeal to the rest of Ulster to create diversions, so as to spread the police thinner throughout the province, and thereby relieve the pressure on the Bogside. But, when the barricades began to go up in Belfast, they were attempting to defend an area both less compact and more vulnerable than the Bogside. Moreover, the area they were trying to hold, the Falls, represents the minority in Belfast; a minority which was completely out-gunned and out-organized by the Orange paramilitary forces such as the UVF.

The preliminary action in Belfast was an assault, apparently at random, on the Falls by the UVF and Specials. In fact, however, there was a great deal of logical organization behind the two tactics employed. The first, indiscriminate spraying of the high-rise apartments with machine-gun fire, was intended to cow the inhabitants into staying under cover, so that the second, more fundamental action could be carried out. The key element in the UVF assault (in which they had abetment and co-operation from the RUC, and the active participation of the B-men) was a scorched-earth program. Entire blocks of "mixed" housing, the border areas between the Protestant and Catholic working-class areas, which had developed since the end of World War II, were burned out. Within a week more than 1,500 people had been made homeless; nine people had been killed, scores wounded; and the Orange ruling class had set the clock back fifty years. By the autumn in 1969, Ulster was once again divided along the old lines of national sectarianism.

The question which must be answered is why it happened that way? How did the Orange rulers get away with it? A large part of the answer lies in the complicated relations among the various forces involved in the civil rights movement and in their essential unity in the failure to understand the real bases of Ulster politics. There are a number of signs to which we can point, and which lead us to the grotesque conclusion that all of the various "radical" forces, each of which claimed to represent the socialist tradition of Connolly, succeeded in repeating, as tragedy more than farce, the leap into the trap which doomed Connolly and the workers' movement in 1916.

The situation in the Nationalist Party has already been described; the degeneracy of the "official" and "loyal" opposition was so complete that they no longer possessed even formal dominance in the electoral arena. They had, by the end of the 1960's, been outflanked on the "left" by both the Republican Labor Party and the Northern Ireland Labor Party (a branch of the English Labor Party under Harold Wilson). The various social-democrats and the revisionists from the Communist Party of Northern Ireland (CPNI) all worked closely in the leadership of the CRA. But no matter how much or how vociferously they talked about the need to destroy the sectarian divisions in Ulster, so long as they remained tied to the electoral system (which, through the development in Ulster of gerrymandering into high art, means that candidates talk to constituents of one or other side); and so long as they

restricted their demands to reformism (in effect, to the maintenance of capitalism), the social democrats and revisionists were tied to the Ulster system and had no other recourse than to the old demagoguery of anti-Orange propaganda.

THE "LEFT-WING" OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS movement comprised the two different forces which had emerged since the original demonstration in Dungannon. In the first place, there was the loose coalition around the PD—students, younger workers from the Catholic ghettoes and the Trotskyites. The latter increasingly dominated the coalition, and led it into the twin failures of united fronts with "progressive" (usually Catholic) bosses of one kind or another, and "electoral reformism" in the form of "transitional demands." Secondly, the old-line Republican movement had been reborn. The IRA, and its political arm, Sinn Fein, had gone through a traumatic set of experiences—the "border campaign" of 1956 to 1962, and their political and military lack of preparation for the uprisings of 1969. They had also, however, experienced a resurgence, both in the return to the ranks of previous members and in large-scale recruitment in the wake of the major battles. Both of these sections of the Ulster "left" focussed on a similar analysis of the central contradiction—they both defined the struggle in Ulster as one of an oppressed people for national liberation from British imperialism.

The elemental error of this analysis was that it contradicted the fact which most of the militants recognized very clearly—that they were powerless so long as the struggle was restricted to civil rights and so long as the Orange ruling class was able to portray the civil rights movement as no more than a front for Catholic sectarian and Republican agitation. That error has been literally fatal for the more than 600 people who have been killed in the course of the past three years. It is not sufficient, however, to lay the blame on the doorstep of the "left"—the fact is that, however decadent and fossilized the Ulster bourgeoisie may be, it was clearly better prepared for the crisis, better organized and far better armed, both materially and ideologically.

The last hopeful sign in the Ulster crisis was negative—the fact that the steel workers' shop stewards' organization in the Harland and Wolff shipyards and aircraft plants in Belfast were able to prevent the spread of the August fighting from the streets to the plants. The respite was not to last: one year later, in July 1970, the 300 Catholic workers in the shipyards were driven off the job, in an ominous replay of the first steps taken in the pogroms of the early 1920's. That action was to be followed by mass demonstrations of the shipyard workers demanding internment and in opposition to direct rule from London.

In the elections which took place in Ulster in 1969, the civil rights forces put forward, and elected, several representatives—notably Bernadett Devlin in mid-Ulster and two MP's from Derry. The latter, John Hume and Ivan Cooper, marked the dominance within the civil rights movement of the "moderates," that is, the most essentially bourgeois wing; not surprisingly, since they were/are manager and owner of sweatshops in Derry. While the CRA/PD forces were bogging themselves down in useless parliamentarism, based inevitably on the traditional and therefore sectarian electoral divisions in Ulster, the IRA was caught, in 1969's August days, with no weapons and very little organization. By the end of that year, the process had gone beyond the days of pious hopes for working-class unity. The PD and Trotskyites, having made an informal alliance with the social democrats on the basis of parliamentarism, found themselves increasingly irrelevant, for the simple reason that the question was resolving itself more and more into the primary military terms of who was better armed.

XI—The Armies Prepare for War

When the Bogside defeated the Ulster police forces in 1969, the situation had obviously gotten out of control and the English government was obliged to intervene. The first contingents of the British Army landed in Derry and took up patrol duties in the middle of August. Their task was "peace-keeping," they were to keep the two sides apart. It is obvious, in retrospect, that in fact they were there to do just that—**to keep the people divided,** because the English ruling class was just as reluctant to see a united working class in Ulster as the Orange bosses. The Army's role was to enforce the preliminary steps towards the permanent and physical division which the Paisleyite forces had achieved in Belfast.

That the Army was welcomed with cups of tea by the besieged Catholic ghettoes in Belfast and Derry only underlines the failure of the so-called socialist forces to provide a class analysis of the situation in Ulster (not to mention the question of state power and the relationships among the ruling classes in England, Ulster and the Republic). This failure was not necessarily unanimous, but it predominated. There were a number of people who did point out that the British Army was not exactly a people's revolutionary force, but the source of these comments were, almost without exception, from the IRA.

At this point, it is necessary to recapitulate briefly the career of the Irish Republican Army. In the long term view, the IRA is descended from Wolfe Tone's United Irishmen and the Fenians, but the immediate model on which the current IRA's predecessors, the pre-1916 Irish Republican Brotherhood and Irish Volunteers, were based was Carson's Ulster Volunteer Force. After the debacle of 1916, and the annihilation of the leaders of the working class Citizens Army, the leadership of the Brotherhood and the Volunteers, (which were merged as the IRA in 1919) came from and represented the aspirations of the Green bourgeoisie and petty-bourgeoisie, for whom the IRA was to be the instrument of national bourgeois liberation. By the time the guerrilla war against the British forces got under way in 1919, the IRA was a fairly large organization with mass support

which grew rapidly in proportion to the number and degree of atrocities committed by the British forces.

The IRA was organized into "flying columns" of between 20 and 100 men, relatively poorly-equipped with whatever they could capture from the British. The first and prototypical guerrilla war of national liberation in the twentieth century was won by the insurgents. In short, the British were ground to a halt. Then the IRA/Sinn Fein forces promptly split into two factions over the division of the spoils. The most fervent nationalists rejected the settlement which excluded Ulster from "holy mother Ireland," and proceeded to launch a civil war.

The more basic material reasons for the civil war lay in the division of the IRA/Sinn Fein along class lines—the richer bourgeois elements were for the settlement, while the dissident forces derived mostly from the rural petty-bourgeoisie and working class which had remained in the IRA. The latter were, at least partially, aware that what they had "won" was more exploitation.

Needless to say, the bourgeois faction won, with British aid. From then on, the IRA was a dwindling band of romantic outlaws, who chopped their ideology to fit the moment. It saw two periods of resurgence prior to the present crisis. In the 1930's, the organization split again. One-half became an ineffectual, because unnecessary, fascist organization—unnecessary because the Irish bourgeoisie had effectively carried through its nationalist counter-revolution by the end of the 1920's. The other half of the IRA developed links with the Irish section of the Third International (the Irish Workers Party) and sent its best militants to Spain, where most of them were killed.

ANOTHER, MORE EQUIVOCAL, "RESURGENCE" was the absurd "border campaign" of 1956 to 1962, which consisted of several hundred raids across the border into Northern Ireland for the purpose of blowing up customs posts, mail boxes and police barracks. That campaign was so ineffectual in raising support (indeed, in raising anything other than a mixture of indifference and disgust), that it was called off by the Dublin-based leadership in 1962. The border campaign was most noted for the fact that although the Ulster government (and the Republican government) rounded up and interned several hundred Republican sympathizers in Ulster, the overwhelming majority of the active IRA men of the time came from south and west Ireland. In short, by the end of the 1960's, the IRA had, for all practical purposes, ceased to exist in Ulster.

Thus, not only were the Northern Ireland government's claims that the April 1969 sabotage campaign was the work of the IRA completely fictitious, but, in fact, when the UVF attacked the Falls in August of that year, there was no military organization to defend the area. Whereas Derry's Bogside had had two previous experiences of having to defend itself against the cops, the people in the Falls were almost completely unprepared. The IRA's claim on the support of the Catholic workers in the ghettoes has always rested, in Northern Ireland, upon their assertion that they have the only organization which was prepared to defend the people militarily.

In 1967, five years of critical self-examination culminated in a major Sinn Fein/IRA conference designed to reconstruct the republican movement. Out of that conference came the decision to declare openly for a "Socialist Republic" in Ireland and to focus republican activities upon struggles over concrete issues, including housing, unemployment, the control of fishing rights and land tenure. The essence of the decision was to attempt to build a mass base, but it centered on a fatally uncritical acceptance of Connolly's analysis, and on a conjunction with the last relics of the revisionist Third International (the Irish Workers Party and the CPNI).

The IRA was trapped in a major contradiction in August 1969: they were short of weapons, they did not really believe that the UVF and the B-men would attack the Falls and an essential corollary of the conference decision to concentrate on "political agitation" as opposed to military activity had been the preclusion of the arms raids required to procure weapons. Moreover, in the August days, the IRA's few weapons were all stored in the arms dumps outside Belfast. Therefore, by default, the responsibility for organization of the self-defense of the Falls devolved onto the CRA/PD forces, who were efficient enough in setting up a pirate radio transmitter (Radio Free Belfast) and in organizing medical care, but completely untrained and unskilled in the military techniques necessary to hold off the official and unofficial fascist arms of the Orange state. These were the preconditions for the split which occurred in January 1970, at the first full convention (Ard Fheis) of Sinn Fein since the beginning of the crisis.

The struggle within the IRA took place on several levels—not all of which were readily visible at the time of the split. An analysis of the split is essential, both for an understanding of the present situation in Ulster and for a clear perspective of the nature of nationalist politics. The key to the internal struggle in the IRA, given the preconditions outlined above, was the intervention in the IRA's political struggles by the government of the Republic of Ireland. Throughout 1969, from the Burntollet ambush on, there had been complaints, both north and south of the border, that the Republican government of Jack Lynch was doing little or nothing to aid his co-religionists and fellow-countrymen in Ulster. The charge was, of course, true; but those who expected anything else of Lynch were utopian dreamers. Lynch had no more cause to be pleased by the developments in the North than the Ulster or English rulers. However, within the ruling Fianna Fail party in the Republic there has long existed a "hard-line"

split in Fianna Fail → split in Ulster IRA

republican faction, centered on figures such as Neil Blaney—that is, those elements in the Irish ruling class who, for a variety of reasons including sentimental attachment to the symbols of 1916 and connections with the north, had built their political careers on an anti-Partitionist demagoguery. For these elements the struggle in the north was a perfect opportunity for their own furtherance in the internal struggles of the Irish political situation.

THE FIRST STEP WAS TAKEN EARLY IN 1969. The IRA command in Derry was approached with an offer from a man who claimed to represent important elements within Fianna Fail. The offer was straight-forward: in return for guns and ammunition to be supplied from the south, the northern IRA was to set up its own command; in short, to break with the Dublin-based, revisionist leadership under Cathal Goulding. The Derry command reported this contact to the Dublin center. Four months later, the Dublin command, including Goulding and MacStiofain, met with several emissaries whom they identified as members of Fianna Fail and that party's fund-raising organization, Taca. The Officials claim that the same offer was made on that occasion: 50,000 pounds for weapons on condition that the IRA cease its activities in the Republic and concentrate its activities in Ulster. That meeting was inconclusive, but the Fianna Fail people had gotten both the information and the leads they were looking for.

In early August, just before the major uprising in Derry and the pogrom in Belfast, Captain James Kelly, of Irish Army Intelligence, spent several days in Ulster contacting the old-line, anti-Goulding elements in the IRA. Many of them had dropped out of the organization in disagreement with the new, "socialist" line being pursued by the Dublin leadership. Kelly's offer of arms was more than welcome to this "physical force" faction; and all the criticisms they had of the Dublin leadership appeared to be vindicated by the August days in Belfast. It was in Belfast that the struggle between what were to become Official and Provisional IRAs was fought out. In the months between August and the finalization of the split in January 1970, the hard-line militarists began reappearing in the Belfast IRA; demanding the purging of Goulding, MacGiolla and Johnson (the revisionist leadership in Dublin), autonomy for the Northern command, the abandonment of the civil rights, united front political activity and complete concentration on the military task.

The political analysis of the situation in Ulster which was proposed by the Provisionals was that the arrival of the British Army in August had clarified matters: once again it was simply a question of a colonial intervention in Irish affairs which had to be met and defeated on the military level. In MacStiofain's words:

> You've got to have military victory first and then politicize the people. To say you've got to unite the Catholic and Protestant working class first is just utter rubbish. (Rosita Sweetman, **On Our Knees**; London: Pan Books, 1972, p. 156)

THE PROVOS WERE CERTAINLY CLEAR-headed about the direction they were taking, for their first move was to return to Belfast and attempt to seize control of the arms and organization in the north, to the extent even of armed confrontations, up to and including shoot-outs, with Ulster Officials. In the light of the earlier analysis of the politics of Joe Devlin and the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the period prior to World War I, the development of the Provos should come as no great surprise. The Provos have replicated some of the worst aspects of the ghetto nationalism of that period—a blinkered, sectarian politics based on hatred and exclusive control over the Catholic population, focused on an almost absolute concentration on militarism. The trajectory of Provo politics was most fully realized in their control over the so-called "Free Derry" (the Bogside) and the Ardoyne district in Belfast.

The case of Derry's Bogside up to the British Army's invasion of the "no-go" areas in 1972, was the clearest case of the impact of the Provo's politics. What had been, in its inception and for nearly a year (up to the onset of internment in July 1970 an essentially working class-controlled enclave, a condition of "dual power," mass-based direct democracy, became transformed under the Provo regime into simply alternative bourgeois state power. The bombings, for which the Provos are best known, pale into relative insignificance beside their subversion of the most progressive development in Ulster politics.

In the areas where mass mobilization of working people had been furthest advanced, the Provos have constantly attempted to assert their own exclusive authority, based on their control of the instruments of coercion, as an alternative, bourgeois state power within the Catholic ghettoes. (That process has also, as we shall see, been seen in the Protestant areas.) It is notable that when the British decided to breach the "no-go" areas, the decision as to whether or not to fight them off was taken by the Provos—the people in the Bogside did **not** make that decision. While the bombing campaign is politically less significant in leading to a clear understanding of the Provos. it is thoroughly symptomatic of their entire political and class orientation. In the first place, needless to say, **the victims of Provo bombs have been workers.** The Provos have been remarkably inefficient at their supposed task of imposing a military defeat on the British Army. let alone in attacking the real oppressors. both Catholic and Protestant, in Ulster. Secondly, the whole notion of militarism which underpins the Provo organization is basically a reflection of their simplistic and wholly inadequate analysis of the problem in Ulster in terms of a confrontation between the

Irish women show what they think of British imperialist army.

British imperialists and "all-Ireland."

The burden of the analysis which is presented here is that the idea of "all-Ireland" as a social and political-economic unit is essentially a romantic attachment to a state of affairs which has not existed in the geographical island for at least 100 years. Obviously, there has been collaboration among the rulers in Belfast, Dublin and London, at different times, for different reasons and in various combinations. But the key fact in the situation is that any revolutionary socialist movement in Ireland must recognize the realities embodied in the existence of two states. The bourgeois state is a real entity; it cannot be created out of a whim or out of nothing. It can only exist because there is a material basis for its existence. The single most disastrous fact about both wings of the IRA is that they have failed to apply the most elementary categories of a Marxist analysis to the conditions in that island.

WHILE THE PROVISIONALS WERE BUSY creating smoke-screens with their bombs, almost all the other forces which had been involved in the civil rights movement became more or less irrelevant. The politicians of all the various factions in the civil rights groups became both more opportunistic and less related to the people, for the basic reason that they did not (and could not) do anything to prevent the UVF from killing, looting and burning out the Catholic areas which bordered the Protestant ghettoes. The Provos did react to that UVF action, by emulating it. They, too, understood the value of a scorched-earth, no-man's-land between the ghettoes as a boundary within which to consolidate their power. The radical wing of the original movement—PD—which originally possessed a growing base of support, particularly among younger working-class people in the Catholic areas, saw its last spurt of effective power and influence in Belfast's August days in 1969, when they provided the organization and leadership for the co-ordination of the movement to draw the cops off Derry and in the self-defense activities, such as Radio Free Belfast, in the Falls Road area.

So far, the analysis has only covered the development of what must be defined as the Green fascist force, the Provos. During the same period a very similar process was underway in the Protestant ghettoes. The basis of the Provo seizure of power in the Catholic ghettoes was their combination of armed force and active opposition to the British Army. Similarly, the Orange fascists based their growth on opposition to the political developments which occurred as a result of the British involvement in Ulster's affairs, and the subsequent ostensible weakening of the monopoly power of the Orange Order and of Orangeism. With more diversity, and under names like "Workers Committee for the Defense of the Constitution," "Ulster Loyalists," "Ulster Protestant Unionists," "Ulster Defense Association," the forces which were originally defined as Paisleyite finally coalesced under traditional bourgeois leadership in the para-military Ulster Vanguard.

Their first stage of growth, their development from a fringe element, came with the British government's 1969 decision to disband the B Specials. That move, stemming from the Cameron Commission's Report on the unrest up to mid-1969, was typical of the British government's attempts to deal with the problem—too little, too late—superstructural tampering aimed at mollifying the growing opposition without any serious approach to the real roots of the problem. The day before the Specials were to cease to exist, the police barracks containing all the files and information on the strength, location and distribution of B men and their weapons was burned down. Within six months, several score of Ulster Special Constabulary Association gun clubs were formed in Ulster. These are the backbone of the Ulster Vanguard. Personnel remains the same, the weapons are in the same hands; and most important, the control remains with the same bourgeois, high figures within the Orange Order.

The split within the Ulster ruling class which had first appeared in the agitation to get rid of O'Neill, became increasingly clear as the British divested the Ulster state of more and more of its "residual" powers. The man who succeeded O'Neill, Chichester-Clark, was a compromise figure. He came from the old landed interests, but was known to have opposed O'Neill's "liberalism" and to be more favorable to the hard-liners within the Orange Order. The basic reason for the compromise settlement on Chichester-Clark was the fact that the main forces in the Orange bourgeoisie were divided over the choice between Faulkner and Craig, both of whom were hard-line representatives of industrial capital. As it turned out, the choice was becoming increasingly irrelevant, for two reasons: because, in the first instance, the critical decisions were no longer being made at Stormont, but in London, which stemmed, in turn, from the increasing irrelevance of the political arena. The period from August 1969 to the internment uprising in August 1971 saw the "political initiatives" upon which liberal counter-insurgency is so reliant outflanked at each stage by the open development of armed force.

TO DISCUSS THE TWO YEARS FROM AUGUST 1969 to August 1971 as a period of military preparations, is really no more than to describe the developments in the politics of the three bourgeois forces in the Ulster crisis. The first force to consider is the British Army. When the troops first arrived, in Derry in August 1969, they were welcomed by the Catholic masses as at least neutral and therefore likely to serve as protection from the Orange fascists. In fact, for the first few months, the Army did protect the Catholic ghettoes, by sealing them off with barbed-wire and sandbag barricades. But this role of the Army was interpreted by the Orange right-wing, correctly within their sectarian, zero-sum analysis of Ulster politics, as a sellout by the British.

The proof of the contention that the Army was "soft on sedition" was assiduously provided by reference to the fact that it was precisely during the period of the British Army's "neutralist" stance that the IRA seized control of the Catholic ghettoes. In theory, the Army's primary role was to "assist the security forces"; but of course, the practice was the development of increasing autonomy of the Army, in which they acted on several levels. The most important development was the discriminatory emphasis by the Army on intelligence and active operations against the IRA—arms raids and street-fighting. Given the British Army's centuries-old tradition of dealing with insurgency (as in Cyprus, Kenya and Aden since World War II), and the normal pro-**status quo** perspective of both the military and political command structures of the Army, the populations of the Catholic ghettoes quickly forgot their original welcome. The Army won the Catholic mass support which the IRA enjoyed (the Officials in the Falls; the Provos in Ardoyne, Ballymurphy and Derry).

Parallel to the development of the Army into an anti-Catholic force, in the **de facto** service of the Orange and British ruling classes, was the more circumspect growth of the Orange army. The largest advantage that the Orange bourgeoisie possessed was their fifty-year-old control of a "legal" fascist force, the B-men, and their continued control of that force after its "disbandment" by the British. This continuation of the Specials in another form was tacitly encouraged by the complete absence of any counteraction by the British. It is important to remember the central importance in the Orange system of the Protestant ideology which ties it together, an ideology in which the key symbol is the siege of Derry in 1689. Orangemen are the last defenders of an embattled faith. It is a warlike political religion which defines itself as free on the sole basis of oppression.

As for the IRA, in particular the Provos, the political forces involved were more complex. In the first place, the "physical force" stance involved in sentimental republicanism has always enjoyed an amount of completely opportunistic support from "Irish" elements in the lower reaches of the American Ruling class, and among some of the southern bourgeoisie. The latter support was made both clearer and more opaque by the big "gun-running" trial in Dublin in May 1970. The affair centered on Lynch's dismissal of two Cabinet members, and charges brought against them and against the original emissary, Captain James Kelly of Irish Army Intelligence, and a Belgian-born Dublin businessman, Albert Luykx, of engaging in attempts to import arms into Ireland for shipment to the Provisionals in Belfast. The involvement of the two Cabinet ministers in the affair, and their dismissal by Lynch, can be explained relatively easily.

On the one hand, Neil Blaney, the Minister of Agriculture, comes from Donegal in the northwest, the most depressed and economically backward area of Ireland. His participation served two

purposes—first, to take the heat off him for his agricultural policies (which had aroused mass opposition, often led by the Official IRA), and second, to solidify his control over the Donegal Fianna Fail organization, which had long-standing ties with the more sentimental and reactionary elements in the republican movement. The other minister, Charlie Haughey of Finance, is the son-in-law of Lynch's predecessor, and his involvement probably centered on an internal struggle among the Irish bourgeoisie for control of the political machinery of the state. Ireland is a small country with parochial bourgeois politics. Lynch, furthermore, was under increasing pressure from the British ruling class to do something in the Republic to curb the IRA, pressure which was backed up by the extensive control vested in large-scale British investment in the Republic and by the rising fear of the Irish bourgeoisie that the struggle could not be prevented from spreading to the south.

XII—Internment and Direct Rule

There is no point, in this analysis, to recapitulate all the atrocities and street-battles which have taken place in Ulster, save to underline the fact that the working class, on both sides of the religious/national divide, became less and less the agents of the struggle, and increasingly its victims. Workers were the cannon-fodder, victims of bombings and cross-fire, burnt-out former residents of the no-man's-lands. The result of the actions of the different armies was that by the middle of 1971 the working class of Northern Ireland had been totally divided into armed camps. What little potential for class unity had existed in 1969 had been thoroughly eliminated by August 1971.

By the middle of 1971, the British government, like the Americans in Vietnam and earlier British governments in Kenya, Aden and Cyprus, was faced with an increasingly untenable position. The Army had succeeded in part of its job—it had kept the two sides apart—but its "peace-keeping" function was obviously partisan; the political system in Ulster had completely broken down under the twin pressures of British intervention and IRA-run enclaves; and armed force was the order of the day for all three sides. The Unionists' demands that all "disloyal" elements—anyone suspected of Republican or radical sentiments—be interned were becoming increasingly strident. The demands for internment were focused through Brian Faulkner, the man who had replaced Chichester-Clark as Prime Minister in Ulster.

Faulkner had been Minister of Home Affairs in 1957, the last time that the internment powers of the Special Powers Act had been used, in the abortive "border campaign" of the IRA. Faulkner, and others in the Orange ruling class, believed that it had been internment which had defeated the IRA in that campaign, ignoring the fact that the IRA had had no support from the Ulster working class. Therefore, throughout the first half of 1971, at every meeting between the Army brass, the Ulster Unionist government and the British "observers," Faulkner reiterated the demand for the institution of internment, as the only way to beat the IRA. Army Intelligence drew up a list of 150 people (identified as active IRA and political militants). The Unionist list, based on the old files of Republican sympathizers, called for 500 internees.

INTERNMENT WAS A LAST-DITCH EFFORT, and a failure. In the first place, the Provisionals had about eight hours' advance notice (which they passed on to the Officials), and most of the IRA actives in Belfast went underground. In Derry, they simply disappeared into the "no-go" Bogside. Secondly, neither Army Intelligence nor the RUC Special Branch possessed accurate information on the IRA actives, for the simple reason that most of the lower echelons of both wings of the IRA had joined the struggle since August 1969. They knew who the leadership comprised, since they were mostly long-standing Republicans, but the new younger recruits were often invisible to both security agencies. Third, the round-up, in the pre-dawn hours, was carried out by the regular Army, on a quota basis of "lifting" any appropriate male in the house which was searched. Thus scores of non-IRA men were picked up.

Added to the element of indiscriminate arrests, was the brutality with which they were carried out—men and women beaten with rifle butts, arrestees roped behind armored cars, homes looted and wrecked. Finally, all of this action was carried out exclusively in the Catholic ghettoes, which already hated the Army; and before people who often knew who their local IRA men were. The brutal and indiscriminate terrorism of the Army, the wrong arrests and three years of developed solidarity within the ghettoes guaranteed an uprising. The response to the decision to bring in internment was the heaviest street-fighting in the history of Ulster. BUT, BY AUGUST 1971, THE OLD HISTORICAL PATTERN HAD BEEN RE-ASSERTED, AND THE INTERNMENT POLICY ONLY SEALED THE SITUATION INTO THE OLD SECTARIAN DIVISIONS.

In the areas where, prior to internment, the Provos' base had been shaky, the policy of internment and the fact that most of the Provos had escaped the round-up, consolidated the control of the Provos, because it verified their analysis that the situation was a straight-forward war between the Catholics and the rest. An indication of the strength of the Provos was the news conference held by Joe Cahill, Provo commander in Belfast and the number one target of the round-up, in Belfast, the day after internment was begun. The outcome of internment was the creation of permanent "no-go" areas. The ghetto areas (Bogside-Creggan in Derry, the Falls, Andersonstown and Ballymurphy in Belfast) were sealed off from the inside and administered, until August 1972, as quasiautonomous statelets within Ulster. The rulers within the "no-go" areas were the Provos. In essence, by the end of 1971, the IRA, in particular the Provos, had succeeded in breaking the Ulster system; but they had nothing with which

to replace it, other than vague, romantic notions of a federal system based on the Celtic provinces of 16th century Ireland.

While the Provos were destroying the Ulster system, its "defenders" were organizing. The creation of the Ulster Vanguard, and assertion of bourgeois control over that force in the figure of William Craig, signified the last step in the replay of the sequence of events which led to the original foundation of the state of Northern Ireland. The immediate cause of the formation of the Vanguard was the imposition of Direct Rule from Westminster. The threat of direct rule had been the bogey which the Ulster ruling class had held over the heads of the fascist organization on the edge of the Orange Order, in a vain attempt to hold both sides (the British and the Orange right-wing) together. As soon as it became clear, however, that internment had failed in its supposed goal of suppressing the IRA, the most astute member of the Ulster bourgeoisie, William Craig, abandoned the attempt to continue the political juggling-act with the British and moved outside the system to assume command over the Vanguard. When direct rule arrived, then, Craig was already in control of the Orange forces; which were no longer an extremist fringe.

The Orange Order and the Unionist Party still exist, but the real power of the Ulster bourgeoisie is now exercised through the structures of the Vanguard. The reasons for the shift lie in the elementary fact that bourgeois politics in Ulster have always tended to be based explicitly on coercion. The Protestant ideology of "religious freedom" and anti-Catholic nationalism have only worked when there has been a direct, material threat. It is a politics of reaction, a defense against real and imaginary evils. The IRA-Provos are very real, and the only possible response to them, in the absence of any but bourgeois leadership, is a similarly reactionary, militarist political force.

THE PRESENT SITUATION, SINCE DIRECT rule and the breaching of the no-go areas, is that three armies occupy Ulster. The British Army is in the most precarious position, because it could find itself under attack from both the Provos and the Vanguard. Should such a situation arise there is a possibility, but no more than a **very slim chance**, that the bourgeois forces on both sides would lose control over the rank-and-file, who might then find it possible to unite against the Army. A more likely outcome, however, given the logic of the historical terms of reference in the Ulster situation, is that the British will withdraw after having arranged a re-division of the spoils between the Vanguard and the Provos, thereby creating a new bourgeois system in which the Provos will hold a junior partnership. These pessimistic conclusions must be drawn because of the foregoing analysis of the situation.

In summary, the struggle in Ulster has consisted of two periods. In the first period, while the struggle was primarily political (up to late 1969). the IRA was largely irrelevant but the radicals and "socialists" were ideologically and militarily unprepared to deal with the second period. As soon, then, as military factors began to predominate—as soon as it became a question, for instance, of holding the Bogside against the state—the IRA was the only force which could supply the manpower, the organization and the leadership. The dominant ideologies on all sides are bourgeois, varieties of racism and nationalism. Mass action has been almost entirely replaced by elitist and terrorist military action. The "socialist" forces have been eliminated, by internment and by default. The working class has been thrown back into its age-old position of cannon-fodder. A bleak outlook. (Dec. 17, 1972)

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Appendix:

COMMUNISM AND IRELAND

The question of the relations between Communism and Ireland breaks down into three major areas. We will consider first, the analyses and actions in relation to Ireland of Marx, Engels and Lenin; second, internal developments of socialist activity in Ireland from the 1840s (concentrating on the Irish Socialist Republican Party from 1896 to the death of Connolly in 1916); and, finally, the position of the communist movement in Ireland in the rise and degeneration of the Third International.

Marx/Engels/Lenin on Ireland

Cashing in on the contemporary struggles in Northern Ireland, today's Soviet imperialists have recently published a collection of Marx and Engels on **Ireland and the Irish Question.** The collection is more interesting for its errors than for its correct positions. The political question, in the mid-19th century as well as today, was the tactical and strategic problem of smashing bourgeois state power so that the dictatorship of the proletariat might be forged. This was often a pressing problem for Marx and Engels, and to that extent their analyses of the situation in Ireland and its relationship to English capitalism are the only ones which make any sense. For instance, in the letters of the 1860s to Kugelmann and to Meyer and Vogt, Marx ties the struggle in Ireland directly to the principal strategic problems facing the English working class. Similarly, in some of the earlier writings included in the collection, Engels does a really good job of demolishing O'Connell's pretensions to being a "liberator" of the Irish masses. Thus, in a "Letter from London," published in a Swiss radical paper in 1843, Engels makes the following comments on "King Dan":

> If O'Connell were really the man of the people, if he had sufficient courage *and were not himself frightened of the people,* i.e., if he were not a two-faced Whig but an upright, consistent democrat, the last English soldier would have left Ireland long since... If the people were set free even for a moment, Daniel O'Connell and his moneyed aristocrats would soon find themselves in the wilderness, where O'Connell himself would like to drive the Tories. This is the reason for O'Connell's close association with the Catholic clergy; that is why he exhorts the Irish to be on their guard against the dangerous socialists; that is why he rejects the assistance offered by the Chartists, although for form's sake he speaks occasionally of democracy.

This commentary on the first modern bourgeois politician in Ireland remains unsurpassed; and it stands as the clearest denunciation of O'Connell's descendants right down to the present.

All of the earlier writings of Marx and Engels, up to the latter 1860s, concerned immediate political questions involving relations between England and Ireland, and analyses of the economic process of un-development as it occurred in the period from the Famine of the late 1840s. The first programmatic statement on the political requirements in **Ireland** was Marx's letter to Engels of November 30, 1867:

> The question now is, what shall *we* advise the *English* workers?...
> What the Irish need is:
> 1) Self-government and independence from England.
> 2) An agrarian revolution. With the best intentions in the world the English cannot accomplish this for them, but they can give the legal means of accomplishing it for themselves.
> 3) *Protective tariffs against England.* Between 1783 and 1801 every branch of Irish industry flourished... The Union, which overthrew the protective tariffs established by the Irish Parliament, destroyed all industrial life in Ireland... Once the Irish are independent, necessity will turn them into protectionists, as it did Canada, Australia, etc.,

IN SHORT, MARX SPELLED OUT THE MINImum demand for the bourgeois democratic revolution in Ireland; and his programme of 1867 was adopted whole-heartedly by the Green bourgeoisie in the 1880s. In the next two or three years (1868-1871) Marx concentrated on developing his arguments behind the proposed programme. In essence, his position was that Ireland was the main power-base of the most reactionary elements in the English ruling class, the Church of England and the landed oligarchy; that the ability of the English bourgeoisie to maintain its hegemony rested largely on its division of the working class in England along the racial lines of Irish vs. English (immigrants vs. natives); and that the enslavement of Ireland by British imperialism was the key link in the chain. In a nutshell:

> You understand at once that I am not only acted upon by feelings of humanity. There is something besides. To accelerate the social development in Europe, you must push on the catastrophe of official England. To do so, you must attack her in Ireland. That's her weakest point. Ireland lost, the British "Empire" is gone, and the class war in England, till now somnolent and chronic, will assume acute forms. But England is the metropolis of landlordism and capitalism all over the world.
>
> (Letter to Paul and Laura Lafargue, March 5, 1870.)

The crucial point to recognize is the absolute contingency of the support for Irish independence—the fact that the entire basis of Marx's strategic perspective is the question of the development of the social revolution in England. Furthermore, in the letter of Marx to Meyer & Vogt of April 9, 1870, the political-economic relationship between England and Ireland is most clearly expressed—in terms of the unity of interest between

the landed and industrial sectors of the English ruling class. Landlordism in Ireland had three significant results in England, to the benefit of the English bourgeoisie—the provision of cheap foodstuffs (which helped to keep wages down); the supply of surplus labor to the English economy (which also depressed wages and "lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class"); "and most important of all!!," the division of the working class in England into two "hostile camps," Irish and English, "is the **secret of the impotence of the English working class**, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it."

Marx and Engels on Nationalism

The major occasion on which the nationalist principle was recognized by Marx & Engels was on an organizational question. A struggle developed, within the Council of the First International, over the proposal to subordinate the Irish sections to their British counterparts. Engels made the main speech against the motion, arguing that "in a case like the Irish, true Internationalism must necessarily be based upon a distinctly national organization." The second feature of Engels' position was that the attempt to subordinate the Irish sections to the English would contribute to the continuation of the antagonism between English and Irish workers. Finally, Engels pointed out that "the Irish sections in England were our base of operations with regard to the Irish working men in Ireland; they were more advanced, being placed in more favorable circumstances, and the movement in Ireland could only be propagated and organized through their instrumentality."

The crucial fact to recognize is that although Marx and Engels argued **for** Irish independence as a politically and economically progressive move—in terms of both England and Ireland—they never made categorical statements about national independence for Ireland as a goal in itself, nor did they make any **carte blanche** statements of support for the nationalist principle. However, throughout the 1870s and 1880s, they supported the Fenians, not for their nationalism but as militant fighters who were being persecuted and murdered by the British authorities. Further, they made clear, both in public and privately, their opposition to the essentially terrorist activities of the Fenians.

Lenin on Ireland

The major statement by Lenin on the Irish question was the section on the 1916 Uprising in **The Discussion of Self-Determination Summed Up.** In this piece, Lenin starts out with a denunciation of Radek's analysis of the uprising as a "putsch" based on a "purely urban, petty-bourgeois movement which, notwithstanding the sensation it caused, had not much social backing." Lenin calls Radek's position "monstrously doctrinaire and pedantic": but as we see it Radek was more correct than Lenin.

Lenin's commentary on Radek's purism and his unscientific use of the term "putsch" are a valuable corrective, but the undeniable fact is that the 1916 Rising was isolated and was looked upon with a mixture of contempt and indifference by most of the Irish working class. (The situation had changed radically by 1919, and the Rising had played a major part in changing the situation—but this is not the issue which Lenin is raising.) A clue to understanding Lenin's assessment of the 1916 Rising as a most valuable blow against British imperialism can be gained from a glance at his earlier commentary on the struggles around Home Rule. In 1914, just prior to the outbreak of the War, the Green and Orange nationalist forces had been maneuvering for position, in Ireland and in the British political arena. The whip-hand was clearly held by Carson and the Orange Unionist Council—they were able to provoke a mutiny in the British Army; the refusal of officers stationed in Ireland to be used to put down the threatened revolt by the Unionists in Ulster. Lenin analyzed these forces as a Black-Hundreds, prebourgeois remnant in British politics. Unfortunately, this analysis by Lenin, which was wrong then, has remained a dominant theme in subsequent historical analysis. Moreover, it is clear from statements such as the following that Lenin was drawing largely upon Green nationalist literature for his information:

> This is an empty threat of course. There can be no question of a rebellion by a handful of hooligans. Nor could there be any question of an Irish Parliament (whose power is determined by *British* law) "oppressing" the Protestants.
>
> ("The British Liberals & Ireland," Lenin, *On Britain*, p. 196)

This idea of the "Orange bluff" was the main theme in Green propaganda of the time; and since then, the dominant line has been that the Orange bosses were and are feudal throwbacks, a line that might be comforting ideologically but is unrelated to material reality.

James Connolly & Irish Socialism

There are two ways in which the socialist movement of the early twentieth century can be portrayed—as the latter-day revisionists do, bowing before the altar of Catholic nationalism, and as it should be (and is, in the work of the Irish Communist Organization) showing the warts and pimples. The key to an understanding of the period dominated by James Larkin and James Connolly and massive strike action by the working class in Belfast and Dublin, is centered on two basic factors. The question of state power and the problem of the relationship between nationalism and socialism (and, given the Irish peculiarities, therefore with religion) were the two rocks on which the Irish socialist movement foundered. This historical judgment is necessary, but can be tempered with the realization that the problem was not restricted to Ireland. The question of

state power, after all, did not really become clarified until the Soviet revolution of 1917—that is, the revisionists of the Second International were overcome in the **practice** of the Bolshevik revolution, and in the subsequent **practical** acceptance, on a mass scale, of the Soviet idea by the international working class.

Similarly, the nationalism/socialism problem finds its place in Ireland with the adoption, by Connolly, of an essentially Leninist approach, before Lenin had developed the self-determination line. The emphasis, here, on ideological positions, is a necessary starting point—first, because of the contrast which is implicitly drawn with the analysis in the body of the essay; and secondly, because it will be the clearest path into the explanation of the practice of the Irish socialists. This is NOT, however, to be understood as a complete analysis, because we are therefore forced to omit some important, but secondary factors, including the complex factional struggles which went on throughout the period from the 1890s to 1916.

Taking the nationalism/socialism/religion tangle first, it is clear that Connolly's position was relatively straightforward—for an independent, socialist republican Ireland. Between that goal and its attainment there was one g r e a t stumbling block, which can be summed up in the word, Ulster—by which is meant the uneven development of capitalism in Ireland, the class formations in Ireland, the religious culture of the two working classes and the constant underestimation by all the Green nationalists—from Connolly all the way to Redmond—of the determination of the Ulster bourgeoisie to hold onto their property. The fact that the goal was an independent socialist Ireland led Connolly to the greatest victories of the Irish working classes and to their eventual defeat. In the period leading up to Partition, the working class in Ireland led the European working class in combativity, especially in the economic sector of the class war. Strikes were more militant, longer, more bitter and more frequent in Ireland than elsewhere in Europe. From the Belfast general strike in 1907 to the onset of the War, **temporary** unity of the Ulster working class against the exploiters was a hallmark of the struggles in which Connolly and Larkin played the lead. But the unity was temporary and contingent—it lasted for the duration of each struggle, but was never successfully built into a permanent form. Why?

The reasons are basically two: on the one hand, Connolly, in common with most of his contemporaries, held a conception of political organization which was pre-Leninist. In fact, Connolly's perspective shifted from the syndicalist perspective of the "revolutionary industrial union" to the equally (if not more) limited idea embodied in the Labor Party. That is, Connolly did not recognize the necessity for a clearly **revolutionary** party; a failure which stemmed largely from his conception of the nature of the state. Which means that Connolly suffered from the problem of his time—he held to a "left-wing" Second International perspective which advocated taking over the state through the bourgeois institutions, rather than **destroying** the state that capitalism had created in order to build the new, proletarian state. Thus, one of the major difficulties which Connolly faced stemmed from his repeated attempts to build a united Irish Socialist (or Labor) Party out of the existing sectarian fractions in Ireland; fractions which were frequently mutually exclusive, ranging from purely reformist elements related to the British Labor Party to earlier syndicalist tendencies.

One of these attempts to found an Irish Labor Party (which, for Connolly, usually meant an alternative party to contest elections against the bourgeois parties), was the occasion of a debate with William Walker, a Belfast leader of the Independent Labor Party (a British fraction somewhat to the left of the Labor Party). In this debate, Connolly clarified his conception of the relationship between organization and independence:

> ...it may be truthfully asserted that one point of divergence is that the ILP in Belfast believes that the Socialist movement in Ireland must perforce remain a dues-paying organic part of the British socialist movement, or else forfeit its title to be considered a part of International Socialism, whereas the Socialist Party of Ireland maintains that the relations between Socialism in Ireland and in Great Britain should be based upon comradeship and mutual assistance and not upon dues-paying, should be fraternal and not organic, and should operate by exchange of literature and speakers rather than by attempts to treat as one, two peoples of whom one has for 700 years nurtured an unending martyrdom rather than admit the unity and surrender its national identity.
>
> ("A Plea for Socialist Unity," May 1911, in *The Workers' Republic*, Dublin, 1951, p. 6)

The fatal flaw is in the last part of the quotation—the Protestant working class in Ulster had **not** "nurtured an unending martyrdom" for 700 years, and was materially committed to British capitalism, at least to the extent that it had been the connection with Britain which had forged that class. Walker's reply is hardly worth mentioning, since his vision of socialism amounted to more of the same, municipal ownership of the gas-works and other utilities, plus the police band. The key point is that unity around the ~~Irish nation was~~ doomed to failure. The Protestant working class had no interest or cultural relation to that nation (except, perhaps, fear); and it is clear, historically, that the working class unity which did exist in Belfast was forged only at those times when all national demands on both sides were ignored in the struggle against exploitation. Furthermore, any conciliation with nationalism simply gave the ground away to people like Wee Joe Devlin, the people for whom politics was nothing else than the nationalist drive for a bigger slice of the capitalist pie.

THE SECOND SOURCE OF THE FAILURE TO create the permanent organizational unity which was required was closely connected to Connolly's Second International perspective on the state—

in fact, the obverse of the line on the state was the line on organization. There is a consistent thread in Connolly's activities of his refusal to make the absolute break which Lenin had forced in the Russian movement, and which Luxemburg and Liebknecht were only to make in 1918. (No doubt, Connolly, too, would have been obliged to make that break at that time.)

The preceding is the dark side of the picture—but there is another, brighter side, the side where the Irish working class demonstrated its capacity for struggle, a capacity at least as firm as that of any other section of the international working class. In Wexford, for instance, during a strike in the foundries, the workers organized a "Workers' Police" to defend the strike against the state; in Dublin during the 1913-14 general strike and lockout the Irish Citizen Army was founded, the proletarian armed force which outlasted the strike and was subsequently slaughtered in the 1916 Rising.

The problem was that no matter how firmly the Irish Transport Workers Union, led by Connolly and Larkin, stuck to the line of non-sectarian class unity, they were fatally compromised by the early conciliations to nationalism, and were driven further and further back by the Unionist offensive of 1912-14, during the debate on the Home Rule Bill. The key to the situation in Ireland tended to be Ulster; because so long as the Ulster bourgeoisie held the whip hand over the Protestant workers the real power of the working class in Ireland was sapped. Furthermore, the only leading figure in the preparations for the rising in Dublin who saw clearly that the revolution would fail if it wasn't controlled by the working class was Connolly—and he had committed the most militant and disciplined working class force to an uprising along with the petty-bourgeois, left-wing nationalists. Thus at the crucial point when the Orange hegemony could have been broken by red unity—during the period immediately after the First World War, when mutinies and massive strikes and large-scale soviet-style organizations broke out throughout Britain (in Glasgow, Belfast, Limerick, Sheffield etc.)—there was no working class leadership in Ireland. Organizational failure, coupled with conciliation with and therefore practical capitulation to the nationalists, plus the impatience which led to the rising in 1916—all these factors gave the counter-revolutionary forces which Connolly had foreseen so clearly additional advantages both north and south of the new partition:

> Such a scheme as that agreed to by Devlin and Redmond (i.e., "temporary" Partition), the betrayal of the national democracy of industrial Ulster, would mean a carnival of reaction both North and South, would set back the wheels of progress, would destroy the coming unity of the Irish Labour movement, and paralyze all advanced movements while it endured. (in the *Irish Worker*, March 14, 1914)

This paper is an historical judgment, after the fact; and the revisionists will scream about the "desecration of our martyred dead." Let them scream. The fact is that Connolly was wrong. We can only learn from history—and Connolly and the workers who went with him at Easter 1916 paid for their mistakes. But so also have the thousands of workers in Ireland who have been murdered, quickly or slowly, by capitalism since 1916, paid for those mistakes.

Ireland and the Comintern — and Since

Any attempt to describe, let alone analyze, the development of the socialist movement in Ireland after the nationalist revolution, civil war and counter-revolution of 1916 to 1926 is faced with a primary difficulty—there are virtually no sources available which cover the question. What follows, therefore, is, at best, a sketchy outline pieced together from hints and clues—it is the result of detective work rather than straightforward examination of historical accounts.

Several points are clear: first, that no communist literature was published in Ireland in the period from 1917 to 1927 (any communist literature which appeared in the country was imported from England or the Communist International); second, an attempt to found a communist party along the lines of the Statutes of the Comintern in 1919-20 was a failure, and the Comintern reported in 1926 that there was no CP in Ireland; third, that nonetheless the working class continued to fight independently during that period. On the last point, evidence comes from the leading liberal-bourgeois newspaper in England, the **Manchester Guardian,** in April 1919, describing a general strike in the city of Limerick in southwest Ireland:

> The whole power is concentrated in the hands of the (British) military command, but on the other hand the strike committee regulates internal order... During the eleven days of the Soviet regime, there was not one case of violence, robbery, etc., in the town.

On April 16, a conference of Irish trade union militants was convened to discuss the question of a general strike throughout the country. No decision was taken by that conference, but on May Day 1919 a general strike, for one day, took place throughout Ireland.

In 1928, a newly formed Irish Workers League, led by Jim Larkin and based on the organizational framework of the Irish Transport & General Workers Union, under pressure from the Executive Committee of the Comintern fielded three candidates in the election. Jim Larkin was elected to represent a working class district in north Dublin. At the same time, there is a factional and jurisdictional struggle being waged between the IWL and the Workers Party of Ireland (an offshoot of the Communist Party of Great Britain). The result of the fight was the practical dissolution of communist organization in the "Irish Free State." This dissolution took the form of early "united front" experimentation—in the elections in 1929, the IWL and its James Connolly Workers Clubs urged the working class to support Fianna Fail and the Sinn Fein in opposition to the Fine Gael government. In other words the workers were led to the support of the smaller bourgeoisie and the petty-bourgeois "left-wing" nationalists who had lost the civil war of 1922. So much for the

Comintern's directions for "independent working class political action."

As Ireland was the first colony of British imperialism, so it was also the first of the full-blown examples of the modern, "independent" neo-colonies. Therefore, the Depression hit Ireland especially fiercely—and in the first years of the depression the working class movement was driven back. By 1930, however, there was the beginning of a resurgence, this time in the North. A long report in **The Communist International** of December 1932 records the development of mass struggle around the issue of unemployment benefits in Belfast. The communist organizations leading the struggle were known as the Revolutionary Workers Groups, and were affiliated to the British rather than the southern Irish organization (implicitly because of the collapse of the latter). The immediate cause of the struggle was the attempt to cut back benefits to the unemployed. The RWGs responded by calling for mass demonstrations, appealing to employed workers for solidarity and occupying benefits offices. At the end of October, following several months of agitation and organization, there were two days of intensive street-fighting in Belfast—in which Protestant and Catholic workers fought side by side. The bosses' response was a series of concessions accompanied by the highest level of sectarian demogoguery and Orange organizing since the pogrom of 1921—with the end result being another pogrom in 1935.

WHILE THE STRUGGLE AROUND UNEMployment was conducted successfully at one level, the ideological and organizational failures were much sharper. Ideologically, the communist forces in Ireland in the 1930s were arguing two related positions. In the first place, there was the hoary old notion that the "southern bourgeoisie betrayed Ireland by allowing the British to control Ulster." (The charge of betrayal **cannot be levelled at a class which simply followed its own class interests—the problem, of course, the old confusion of national and class interests.) Secondly, in the interests of "the fight for a free independent Ireland" Irish communists were advised to be "the champions of both their national and social demands" in order to destroy "the influence of the bourgeoisie, the Labor Party and the protestant clergy" in Northern Ireland and to unite with the IRA rank and file. Again the confusion of the national and class interests is paramount; and made worse by the failure to mention the influence of the Catholic clergy. The failure to deal with the Catholic clergy is indicative of the more basic failure to recognize the existence of two national groupings in Ireland. (**The Communist International**, Vol 9, No. 8, May 1932.)

In 1933, the founding conference of the Communist Party of Ireland was held, at which the following warning was sounded:

. . . to lose sight of the main task of our Party as the struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat would inevitably result

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in the Party becoming the tail-end of bourgeois nationalism, or sucked into the swamp of the IRA.

(*CI*, Vol. 10, Nos. 8-9, June 1933)

In November 1933, the IRA expelled the communists from its ranks; and the CPI responded by declaring that they must "secure the closest contact with the membership of the IRA for the purpose of intensifying revolutionary mass action."

In 1942, in common with all the other parties of the moribund Third International, the CPI adopted a new, war-time manifesto calling on the bourgeoisie to allow them to participate in the government and calling on the workers to speed up production and to avoid any "provocative" strike action. The completion of the degeneration of the "communist" movement in Ireland is signified by the statement read by Michael O'Riordan (Secretary of the National Executive Committee of the CPI) at a meeting in Moscow, October 1970:

> In the context of the current Irish struggle, the fight for the preservation of this national language (Irish, which is spoken by no more than 5% of the population) is an important political/cultural task in the face of corrosive Anglo-American commercialism and general imperialist cosmopolitanism.

O'Riordan goes on to talk about "cleverly instilled fears and prejudices" and to denounce the Common Market as an anti-national, dastardly plot by the capitalists. The usual mealy-mouth clap-trap. (Text reprinted in **Political Affairs**, Vol. 50, No. 4, April 1971.)

But all this nonsense-ideology is insignificant beside the real role played by the revisionist parties in Ireland (the CPI split into two organizations after the end of World War II, and reunited in March 1970). From 1965 onwards, the revisionists in Ireland finally achieved the goal they had been striving for for so long; in the reorganization of the IRA undertaken by Cathal Goulding from 1964, the leading ideologues of the Sinn Fein/IRA were a couple of figures from the CPI —Roy Johnson & Betty Sinclair. The ideological dominance of the CPI within the Official Sinn Fein/IRA can be seen most clearly in the essential part of their current programme—"fight for bourgeois civil rights." In fact, the CPI has had an influence in Ireland out of all proportion to its size—particularly in the period since the Troubles began in 1968. Thus, in 1969, when the barricades first went up in Belfast, holding a CPNI (Communist Party of Northern Ireland) membership was a safe passport—and it was valid in the Protestant working class neighborhoods too. Similarly, in 1969, when the B-men and the Ulster police launched their assault on the Falls Road ghetto, the usual pattern of Ulster history was not repeated—the struggle did not extend into the ship-yards; largely, because of the influence of CPNI stewards in the unions in the yards.

A Partial Conclusion

The only commentary which can be added is that the Ulster situation is more evidence of the disastrous effect nationalism has had on the workers' movement. In other words, we have to add Ireland to the list of Algeria, Indonesia, China, Vietnam, etc. Apart from this obvious conclusion, it is necessary to point out that there is an organization in Belfast, of which not much is known except from their analyses of the historical roots of the present situation. But what is known is favorable—this Irish Communist Organization is the first group in Ireland which has consistently applied clear marxist analysis to demonstrate that the nationalism of the Catholics is as reactionary a force as that of the Protestants; and they have also shown that until the communist movement recognizes the essential factor of the existence of two nations in Ireland it cannot move ahead to lead a working class revolutionary movement.

MEXICO: A REVOLUTIONARY DIARY

THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN MEXICO, 1972

PETROLEUM: Various conflicts occurred throughout the entire year in the Union of Petroleum Workers. (STPRM—Sindicato de Trabajadores Petroleros de la Republica Mexicana.)

● **January 5:** Salvador Barragan Camacho, secretary general of the STPRM, says that the installation of the new leaders was accomplished peacefully and that the dissident group in Section 36 at Reynosa, which had seized the union building, had been "reduced to a few malcontents."

● **January 26:** The Municipal Police and the Secret Service dislodge the three hundred members of the Majority Unifying Group which was in possession of section 36 in Reynosa.

● **March 24:** At an assembly of section 35 in the Federal District, Mendez Lopez, secretary of the section, breaks with the leader Barragan Camacho.

● **April 21:** Section 35 of the Mendez Lopez group is assaulted: 7 wounded. The previous March 31 the secretary general of section 35 had been dismissed.

● **July 25:** The partisans of the new secretary of section 35, Rivera Maciel, occupy the union local which had remained under the direction of the previous leader. When a Mendez Lopez group tries to recover their local, a shootout occurs and a worker is killed.

● **Sept. 9:** An assembly of temporary workers of section 13 in Cerro Azul, Veracruz, protests the failure of the executive committee to comply with its promises.

● **Sept. 10:** Professional and technical workers of PEMEX (Petroleos de Mexico, the government oil monopoly), seven thousand strong, who have sought to form a union since 1970 only to have their attempt rejected three times by the Minister of Labor, declare that the refusal seems to be due to pressure from the enterprise or from the STPRM.

● **Sept. 16:** The army occupies the Hidalgo Theatre in Poza Rica, Veracruz, in order to avoid a confrontation between the supporters of the deposed secretary of that section and the group that supports the Deputy, Heriberto Kehoe.

● **Sept. 18:** The interim secretary-general of the Poza Rica section resigns, and the previous one is reinstated after a suspension period of forty five days. The building remains in custody of the army.

● **Sept. 27:** 1,500 "casual" oil workers set up a permanent assembly in the Benito Juarez park at Poza Rica, to protest "violations of the agreements on the part of the authorities of the section."

TEACHERS: The teaching profession was aroused by the reluctance of the authorities of the Secretariat of Public Education to grant a petition, approved at the insistence of the National Executive Committee of the National Union of Educational Workers (SNTE) at the Congress in Nuevo Laredo at the beginning of 1971. Noteworthy was the series of demonstrations and strikes carried out by the teachers in different cities, and the fall of the secretary-general of the union, who failed to get a favorable resolution of the petition. The new executive committee has not been successful either.

● **January 27:** An independent Teacher's Block is formed in Section 10 of the Federal District, as the result of dissatisfaction with the failure to comply with the demands approved by the Nuevo Laredo Congress. Some delegations publish a manifesto against the union leadership.

● **March 25:** The MRM (Movimiento Revolucionario Magisterial—Revolutionary Teachers Movement) organizes a meeting of three thousand teachers at the Secretariat of Public Education (SEP) to protest "the procedures used in the election of the new executive committee of section 9 and to support the demand of 105 pesos hourly/weekly/monthly."

● **April 15:** The Chief of Police announces that the demonstration planned by the teachers will be stopped, and as a result it is cancelled a few

hours before it is to begin. The offices of the MRM are leveled, some leaders of the Partido Comunista de Mexico (PCM) are provisionally detained, and the police put on a great show of force in which new weapons are displayed.

• **May 15:** Two thousand teachers rally to demand an increase in salary in section 35 of Zacatecas.

• **June 16:** A strike of eight thousand teachers in Veracruz ends.

• **August 9:** Carlos Olmos, leader of the SNTE, declares that if the authorities do not accede to the teachers' demand by the 31st of August—to change the system of wage payment from a daily basis to a regular hourly/weekly/monthly schedule—ninety thousand teachers will refuse to begin classes at the next school period.

• **Sept. 14:** Fifteen hundred primary-school teachers conduct a demonstration in Queretaro in support of the 105 peso demand and in favor of a maximum limit of fifty pupils per classroom.

• **Sept. 20:** Nine thousand primary teachers in Sinaloa strike for 105 pesos.

• **Sept. 22:** A manifesto of the National Watchdog Committee of the SNTE rejects the system of payment accepted by Carlos Olmos and calls for his replacement. Eloy Benavides is the new secretary general of the union.

• **Oct. 1:** Ten thousand teachers strike in Morelia to support the demand for 105 pesos and to show they approve the dismissal of Olmos.

• **Oct. 7:** A meeting of the MRM in the Plaza of Santo Domingo denounces Benavides for "having published in the newspapers a false report from the MRM cancelling the meeting."

• **Oct. 14:** A demonstration organized by the MRM is repressed and a thousand teachers marching through San Cosme are dispersed. There are beatings and thirty arrests.

• **Oct. 19:** The MRM organizes a teachers' strike in the Federal District.

• **Oct. 21:** The police break up a teachers' demonstration in Puebla.

• **Nov. 8:** A new strike of primary teachers called by the MRM. Teachers in the Federal District stop work, along with some delegations in other states.

• **Nov. 8:** The police dislodge a group of teachers who had been attending a public ceremony called by the MRM at the Secretariat of Public Education.

RAILROAD EMPLOYEES: The workers of the Movimiento Sindical Ferrocarrilero (MSF) (Railroad Union Movement, a group opposed to the national leadership of the union), led by Demetrio Vallejo, conducted an uninterrupted struggle against the union led by Villanueva Molina. One after the other, sections of the union were occupied by the vallejistas. The CTM (Confederacion de Trabajadores Mexicanos—this is the "official" gov't sponsored trade union organization) opposition to the MSF culminated in bloody confrontations.

• **January 7:** Section 19 in Monterrey is occupied by 400 workers of the MSF.

• **January 13:** In Torreon 100 members of the MSF occupy the local headquarters. The same occurs in Jalapa, Matias Romero, Monterrey, Orizaba, Oaxaca, Tierra Blanca, Tonala, Veracruz, Frontera and Guadalajara.

• **January 20:** The MSF denounces the participation of the army in the dislodging of the vallejistas who had taken over the local in Matias Romero. They say that "the union buildings will be converted into fortresses."

• **March 9:** 150 armed men of the CTM attack and shoot up the Monterrey section. Two workers and one student are killed, others injured. The police, who had been informed that the attack was to be launched, look the other way. There are 33 arrests, the majority from the MSF.

• **March 11:** 500 persons at a MSF meeting in Monterrey blame Villanueva Molina for the massacre. The number of arrests climbs to 74.

• **March 15:** A worker-student meeting in Monterrey, presided over by Vallejo, demands freedom for the jailed rail workers, a plebiscite, and elections for a new national executive committee.

• **March 18:** The governor of Nuevo Leon offers his services to Vallejo as a mediator in the dispute.

• **April 12:** An MSF leader in Veracruz is assassinated, shot six times. Days later, three hundred rail and electrical workers and students demonstrate, demanding punishment for those responsible for the murder.

• **April 24:** The railroaders of Oaxaca occupy the local hall of Section 22 and receive the support of workers, farmers and students.

• **August 19:** Once more, the workers at Matias Romero occupy their local headquarters after a march four hundred strong. A few hours later, the army—for the third time—dislodges them and reinstalls the CTM group.

• **Sept. 19:** The MSF convenes a congress in the Federal District and calls a small rally in the Zocalo (the principal square in Mexico City). Vallejo meets with the Secretary of Labor, Porfirio Munoz Ledo, and declares: "... we have a certain understanding ... this means that the railroad movement will continue."

• **Sept. 26:** At the petition of the STFRP (the official union) the railroad management agrees to the reinstatement of those fired in 1959. (In the great railroad strike of 1958, the army intervened with eight thousand arrests and thousands of workers were fired.) The majority of those getting their jobs back will get retirement status. Vallejo declares: "I think that this solution is the result of measures we have taken before the President of the Republic and the Secretary of Labor ... this can mean the beginning of the realization of the words of President Echeverria in the sense that the workers must lead their unions ..."

• **Oct. 3:** The MSF seizes Section 5 headquarters in Chihauhua.

• **Oct. 6:** In Chihuahua a CTM group of three hundred supported by the police and the army expel the workers from section 5. A three-hour battle follows with three wounded and 20 arrests. A Committee for Defense supports the workers and conducts demonstrations with up to two thousand participants. The detainees are freed and two hundred rail workers and residents of the Francisco Villa area re-take the local. A rally of three thousand in front of the Palacio de Gobierno supports the vallejistas.

• **Oct. 7:** Two hundred railroaders win section 7 in Durango. The district attorney and the CTM ask for a recount, which the MSF agrees to, but it is not carried out.

• **Nov. 24:** Section 9 at Gomez Palacio is seized by the MSF with the help of workers from other factories.

• **Dec. 3:** Once again the MSF recovers the hall at Matias Romero.

• **Dec. 4:** A CTM group tries to retake the Matias Romero building. Two of them are killed and another wounded. The army then occupies the building for the fourth time. The CTM, in a nation-wide campaign against Vallejo and the MSF, hold them responsible for the shooting.

• **Dec. 19:** The police, supported by the army, carry out a country-wide operation to dislodge the MSF from all the locals it occupies. In Oaxaca, Durango, Nuevo Laredo, Gomez Palacio, Torreon, and Frontera, the vallejistas are expelled. In Oaxaca there are ten arrests, and in Nuevo Leon 21 warrants issued for MSF members. In Gomez Palacio they are accused of housebreaking and

destruction of property. In Oaxaca students seize the central university building in protest and kidnap three policemen. The secretary of Education, Victor Bravo Ahuja, pleads with them to "...avoid confusion."

• **Dec. 20:** Vallejo declares: "...we will return to the Local halls because they belong to the workers." A National Day for the MSF is planned for the 27th of December, but it is not carried out.

CELANESE:

• **Oct. 16:** 1,200 workers at the Celanese factory in Zacapu, Mich., issue a manifesto announcing their intention to strike if their demands are not met by the 21st of the month. The new independent union asks the company to consult with the union in fixing wages and administration of the plant. The workers are supported by the students of the University of Morelia and electrical workers belonging to the STERM.

The workers stress the fact that the cost of living in the region rises 11% annually and that the contract was signed two years ago, so the 10% offer by the company is unacceptable. They demand a 30% raise.

• **Oct. 21:** 1,200 Celanese workers strike.

• **Nov. 30:** After a 33 day strike, most of the demands of the Independent Union of Celanese are agreed to by the company. During the strike the workers are frequently attacked by the CROC, an organization to which they had belonged since 1956, because they had formed their own independent union organization in an attempt to unite all Celanese plants.

STERM: (Sindicato de Trabajadores Electricistas de la Repub. de Mex.)

During the entire year, the mobilization of the STERM constituted the center of the national workers' movement. Through various National Days (of labor solidarity) and street actions, unifying links were established between numerous working-class base sectors. Outstanding was the participation of the MSF and the unions grouped in the FAT (Frente Autentico de Trabajo). A multitude of local strikes were triumphant due to the support and advice of the STERM, and in general the workers' struggle was enhanced by the new correlation of forces made possible by the campaign of the STERM.

The series of actions taken by the STERM was decisive in frustrating the attempt by the CTM to destroy the union. From this point of view, the unity congress of November 20 is not a defeat, nor is it simply the result of government intervention.

• **January 10:** Workers in section 40 at Celaya are attacked by forces identified with Perez Rios (leader of the SNESCRM, the union favored by the CTM hierarchy). The workers respond by expelling those considered to be scabs. The CFE (Comision Federal de Electricidad) dismisses the secretary general in each of the locals and rescinds their contracts. An immediate demonstration is organized in Celaya and the ten sections of the STERM in the lowland conduct a mass sick-out. As a result, the majority of those fired are reinstated.

• **January 27:** The second National Day for Independent Unionism is convened by the STERM, the MSF and the FAT, with rallies and demonstrations in 48 cities. In Tampico, 15,000 demonstrators; Merida, 8,000; Puebla, 6,000; La Laguna and Acapulco, 3,000; Culiacan and Veracruz, 2,000; San Luis Potosi, 1,500; etc.

• **Feb. 7:** An attempt is made to bring in scabs to the plants of section 39 in La Laguna. The workers stop the attack and organize guards in the work centers.

• **March 4:** Rafael Galvan (leader of the STERM) declares that Fidel Velasquez and Sanchez Vite (chiefs of the CTM) tried to encourage a right-wing coup d'etat in Tepeji del Rio.

• **April 12:** A STERM proclamation protests a Supreme Court decision refusing to outlaw a move to restrict the collective bargaining agreement solely to those under the Perz Rios leadership.

• **April 15:** 7,000 workers march in Queretaro. Eighteen union locals and students participate.

• **April 17:** Members of section 145 denounce the leader Perez Rios for having made unauthorized use of their names in a statement attacking Galvan.

• **April 22:** A demonstration of seven thousand persons in La Laguna. Participants include: electrical workers, railroaders, miners, painters, symphony musicians and the Defense Committee of Chihuahua.

• **April 27:** Third National Day for Trade Union Democracy. There are outstanding demonstrations in Puebla, with 16,000; Tampico, 13,000; Veracruz, Monterrey and Chihuahua with 3,000 each and more than a thousand each in many other cities.

• **May 16:** Yet another Day for Union Democracy. 11,000 in Tampico; 3,500 in Puebla, 2,000 in Irapuato and Merida; 1,500 in Acapulco and Aguascalientes.

• **May 23:** The STERM calls a strike for higher wages, violations of the contract and other demands. In rejecting the demands and declaring the strike to be "...non-existent," the Conciliation Board violates its own procedures, for which the STERM brings criminal suit against the Board's president. A new slogan is launched: "We will defend the right to strike with the strike itself."

• **May 31:** Demonstrations in Leon of 4,000; 3,000 in Merida; 1,000 in Queretaro. Great participation of students in the demonstration in Puebla.

• **June 26:** An attempt to bring in scabs in section 19 at Colima is smashed. Permanent guards in the plant.

• **June 29:** Another "Day." 4,000 march in Guadalajara; 3,500 in Puebla; 2,000 in Acapulco. Marches in eleven other cities.

• **July 15:** A letter signed by two thousand members of the Sindicato Mexicano de Electricistas (SME) expressing solidarity with the STERM is published.

• **Aug. 12:** In San Luis Potosi 4,000 in a regional march: electrical workers, farmers, residents and rail workers. The FAT of Leon joins in.

• **Aug. 29:** A STERM mobilization throughout the country. Outstanding rallies in Puebla, Salamanca and Merida.

• **Aug. 31:** At the 81st Assembly of the National Common Council of the CTM, Fidel Velasquez declares: "... but there is one thing we do insist on, that in this struggle there be no compromises of any sort, that there be no quarter for Galvan and no consideration for our enemies." At the same Assembly, Perez Rios said: "We will recourse to any measures necessary, within or outside the law."

• **Sept. 26:** A unity pact between the SNESCRM of Perez Rios and the STERM is made known and a Unity Congress is called for the 20th of November. Galvan declares: "Invited by the President of the Republic," representatives of the unions reached an "agreement of Trade Union unity." Perez Rios says: "From now on Galvan's union will not be treated as a rival but rather as a companion." The secretarys-general of the forty nine sections belonging to the STERM declare that the unity pact "constitutes a triumph for Galvan and his executive committee." The leaders of the FAT who collaborated throughout the year in the struggle of the STERM state "at this time, given the fait accompli of the STERM, it is necessary to continue to drive and accompany its base and its leadership in the struggle against "charrismo" (sell-out unionism). The STERM quits the National Union of Workers although its members may continue their affiliation through their sections.

• **Oct. 25:** 2,500 workers in the Monterrey section call a strike to support temporary workers who are victims of contract violations by the CFE.

• **Oct. 26:** STERM calls another National Day, this time to thank the people of Mexico for the support they gave to its struggle. There are marches in many cities followed by public assemblies to discuss the problems arising out of the proposed integration of the two unions.

• **Nov. 20:** The Unity Congress of the two unions takes place at the Fine Arts building. The STERM joins the CTM; Perez Rios remains as secretary general of the new union and Rafael Galvan as "watchdog president." The by-laws reflect the positions of the STERM.

May Day, 1973

THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

LAND SEIZURES

• **March 23:** Tension between farmers and "paracaidistas" in Rio Largo, Yucatan; clash is avoided by the Mayor's intervention.

• **March 29:** Problems mount from the repression of "paracaidistas" in Monterrey.

• **April 4:** 17,000 "paracaidistas" in Torreon occupy large extensions of land.

• **April 7:** Death of two children caused by the bad living conditions of the 20,000 "paracaidistas" in Torreon. Local military forces expel hundreds of persons.

• **April 12:** Students burn down houses located on land belonging to the University of Morelos. 20,000 square miles had been invaded. The action is praised by Rivera Crespo, Governor of the State.

• **June 19:** 1,000 heads of households invade lands in Casa Blanca, Queretaro. Their leader was Humberto Serrano, Secretary General of the Mexican Agrarian Council (CAM).

• **June 20:** 25,000 "paracaidistas" invade lands in Queretaro, Qro. These lands had been earmarked for public service. They are organized by CAM.

• **Oct. 10:** In Reynosa, Tamaulipas, 100 rural and municipal policemen surround some 400 members of CCI who had occupied two cattle ranches to demand compliance to a 1955 presidential resolution.

• **Oct. 25:** 300 farmworkers invade a 700-hectare cattle estate in Piedas Negras, arguing that it is a latifundium.

• **Oct. 30:** In Guadalajara, 200 farmworkers from CCI take over the agrarian delegation. They come from 30 municipios, denouncing latifundism and the delegation's ineffectuality.

• **Dec. 1:** In Puebla, 1,000 farmworkers from CCI invade six ranches; one group shoots an owner's nephew to death. Finally, the armed forces drive them away and arrest 26 who resisted. The leaders are fugitives. The ranches were returned to their owners by the police and the army.

JUTE WORKERS: IZAMAL

• **March 2:** 2,300 farmworkers violently force the resignation of the ejido's delegate in Izamal, Yucatan: Vicente Aldama.

• **March 3:** Farmworkers from Izamal set fire to jute plantations. Police forces rush in. Yucatan's governor, Carlos Loret de Mola, declares that he does not believe farmworkers to be responsible for the act and blames it on the hot season.

• **Oct. 30:** In Izamal, 1,000 jute workers (hevequers) lynched (stoned) the village's agrarian agent. Moments before, the agent had shot and wounded Vicente Aldama, leader of a workers' group that had demanded payment of due wages. The office of agrarian affairs was destroyed.

SANTA CRUZ

• **Sept. 11:** In Santa Cruz, Tlaxcala, 30 persons, including municipal policemen, shot at a crowd coming out from church. Two men died and 20 were wounded. The massacre was organized by Pedro Guerra, Mayor of the village, who represents the powers-that-be of CROM.

• **Sept. 12:** More than 100 persons from Santa Cruz, Papahatla, and students of Puebla marched through the city with the caskets of those murdered the day before. They demanded justice and accused Governor Huerta Sanchez and the local congress for their actions regarding Santa Cruz's municipal problem. The State Attorney promised an investigation would be conducted.

• **Sept. 14:** 16 people are arrested for their participation in the shooting, most of them from CROM. The region is patrolled by the army.

• **Sept. 21:** The army occupies Santa Cruz City Hall. The governor declares that the participation of students from Puebla has much to do with the problem. He describes them as "hoodlums with Communist and Maoist tendencies" who "seek to create a climate of intolerance and confusion in Tlaxcala."

• **Sept. 23:** Suspension of powers in Santa Cruz. Ex-Mayor Pedro Guerra is arrested.

• **Sept. 25:** Judges from the Superior Court of Justice of Tlaxcala condemn the action of the State Governor for exonerating three of the persons involved in the shoot-out.

• **Sept. 27:** People from the towns of San Miguel Contla and Tlaxco block the roads to Santa Cruz in an act of protest for two appointments to the municipal junta created to replace ex-Mayor Pedro Guerra.

TLAXCALA AND PUEBLA (PEASANT MARCH AND AGRARIAN PROBLEMS)

• **April 11:** March of "ejidatarios" and students from Puebla and Tlaxcala. The demonstrators disregard Gomez Villanueva and demand that the President carry out resolutions.

• **April 13:** Tlaxcala senators Serrano del Castillo and Juarez Carro declare that the demonstrators

are agitators and add that there are no latifundia in their state. They declare that the army acted correctly in stopping the march and that everything can be fixed through conversations without "subverting the population." Meanwhile, some farmworkers from Tlaxcala hold a meeting with the President, who promises them a DAAC project within 15 days.

• **April 17:** Complaint before DAAC: the peasants from Tlaxcala do not have land. One-third of the whole is dedicated to the breeding of fighting bulls. Norma Lopez Cano, counselor of DAAC in Tlaxcala, says that in terms of the land it needs, a bull is "worth more than a peasant." Gomez Villanueva guarantees that parcels of land will be chosen after studying the demands of peasants and students.

• **April 19:** CNC declares some latifundia indeed exist in Tlaxcala. There are at least eight latifundia in Tlaxcala, declares the commission of peasants and students.

• **Nov. 23:** Mimiahuapan cattle ranch in the municipality of Tlaxco, Tlax., invaded by some 250 members of the National Peasant Federation (CNC) and the Independent Peasant Union (Central Campesino Independiente). They raise their tents and refuse to leave. Others block the trails that lead to the estate of the Barroso family. They distribute leaflets in which it is argued that the visit of Augusto Gomez Villanueva (head of DAAC) on April 28 resolved nothing, since he promised them the right to some lands, but the present owner had successfully protested the action at the Public Attorney's office. They say that the localities' agrarian problem is far from solved since many haciendas denounced as latifundia have been left untouched, and the works that employ peasants only provide temporary relief with the peasants always being forced back to their precarious existence.

TIZIMIN

• **Nov. 20: Some 700 persons who had been aroused by some "diputados de fiesta" (local senators) overthrew a statue of Benito Juarez and set fire to the municipal palace after ransacking the offices of the Bureau of Drinking Water, from which they took 5,000 pesos. The Civil Register files were also destroyed and burned, together with other papers, telephones and furniture. The large group took weapons from City Hall and damaged several town residences. The riot lasted 8 hours. Municipal president Fernely Rodriguez, whose administration is heavily criticized, had to hide to avoid the attackers' fury.**

CANE CUTTERS OF VERACRUZ

• **Jan. 26:** At Martinez de la Torre, Veracruz, 100 peasants stop cane from being sent into the Independencia sugar mill because the Local Cane Producers Agricultural Association has not signed a price agreement with the management.

• **Jan. 27:** At Martinez de la Torre some 4,000 peasants tear apart the offices of Agricultural Assn. to the cry of "Down with Galbarino" and "Death to Dimitrio." Dimitrio Amador Ballina and Galbarino Barrios Perez are the two leaders who oppose delivering cane to the mill.

• **April 30:** A. Torres, member of the Cane Cutters Alliance, charges that they suffer a slavery worse than that of 1910, that they are continually threatened and deprived of their lands by the mills.

• **Sept. 25:** 350 cane cutters from Martinez de la Torre led by the Union of Sugar Cane Producers march on the Federal District demanding firing of the manager. Governor Murillo Vidal tries unsuccessfully to stop the march.

• **Oct. 2:** The secretary general of Union of Sugar Industry Workers announces that if the bosses do not accept the contract revision the 45,000 members will strike Nov. 15.

• **Oct. 6:** Before a crowd of cane cutters CNC leader Alfredo V. Bonfil is accused of being an accomplice of the landlords. This is at a meeting chaired by Heberto Castillo, Cesar del Angel, and Cabeza de Vaca.

• **Nov. 15:** Cano Escalante announces that the contract governing relations between 69 mills, 8 rum factories, 1 brandy factory, 1 cane pulp plant, and the 40,000 workers of the sugar industry has been revised, averting the strike scheduled for today.

• **Dec. 14:** Questioned about the origins of the strike of the 40,000 cane cutters initiated in spite of Cano Escalante's predictions, the president of the Veracruz Federation of Cane Producers explains that the key question is that the industrialists are trying to apply the contract-law in Veracruz but "the cane cutters of Veracruz have better loans, prices and other benefits than those set forth in the National Agreement." In addition he confirms the current number of 40,000 strikers, but expects the number to go up to 90,000 when nine more mills are added, including La Concepcion and Independencia.

• **Dec. 21:** The leaders of the cane cutters at the Independencia mill accuse the leader of the CNC of misleading the President of the Republic with false figures about the problem which has semiparalyzed the sugar industry. The leaders point out that the public has aided the striking peasants with food.

KEY POINTS FROM THE STATES

GUERRERO

● **Jan. 8:** Jaime Farill Novelo, principal of Secondary School #2 of Acapulco and close collaborator of the rector of the Autonomous University of Guerrero (UAG), Castrejon Diaz, who was kidnapped at the end of 1971 by the Genaro Vazquez Rojas group, is himself kidnapped in Acapulco. The press claims Vazquez Rojas is responsible.

● **Jan. 15:** Students from Acapulco Preparatory School stage a demonstration and cheer Jenaro Vazquez Rojas and Lucio Cabanas in front of Farill's house. Santiago Dionisio, chief of the captured "commandos," warns that the kidnappings will continue.

● **Jan. 28:** In Hermosillo a group is arrested; it is headed by Pablo Cabanas, Lucio's brother. They are accused of propagandizing for armed struggle and of having received guerrilla training in the State of Chiapas. They were going to call themselves "Armed Forces of the New Revolution."

● **Feb. 2:** Jenaro Vazquez Rojas dies. Some papers report he was killed in a gun battle with police. The official version: he died when his car crashed into a bridge on the Morelia-Nogales highway. The press says the police and army are on the trail of his lieutenant Jose Bracho Campos whose arrest had been announced two days earlier.

● **Feb. 5:** In San Luis de Acatlan, Guerrero, 2000 people bury Jenaro Vazquez Rojas. Jose Bracho, wounded and hungry, is captured near Norelia.

● **Feb. 9:** In the Federal District eight suspected members of Jenaro's group are arrested. They are sent to Chilpancingo (capital of Guerrero).

● **March 1:** Castrejon Diaz resigns as rector of the UAG.

● **March 5:** The secretary general of the Student Federation of the UAG accuses students from the State of Sinaloa of agitating to influence the selection of the new rector. Cheers are given for Jenaro Vazquez, Jose Bracho (in custody in Chilpancingo). Castrejon is accused of trying to impose a new rector.

● **March 11:** Student disturbances in Chilpancingo due to the election of the UAG rector.

● **April 30:** Rosalio Wences Reza is designated rector of the UAG.

● **June 25:** An army truck is attacked in Guerrero. Ten dead. The Dept. of Defense announces, "The attackers are bandits."

● **Aug. 23:** New ambush of an army group. Seven dead.

● **Sept. 8:** Already 79 suspects are in custody for the ambush. The captures have been carried out by the 50th Infantry Batallion. The captives are held in the XXVIIth Military Zone.

● **Nov. 18:** The Secretary of Defense states he wants to enter into talks with Lucio Cabanas. Offer of amnesty is made by General Cuenca Diaz.

Sugar cane workers strike in San Cristobal.

• **Dec. 25:** In an interview the governor of Guerrero denies that Lucio Cabanas has requested amnesty and states that at least his government wouldn't grant it. The search for Cabanas, he adds, will continue by police as well as troops. "Lucio Cabanas," says the governor, "will have to fall to justice to answer for the crimes he has committed against the people of Mexico. That day is not far off."

SINALOA

• **Feb. 12:** Police in Culiacan dislodge students occupying the Autonomous University of Sinaloa (UAS). 32 arrested, charged with "damaging buildings, damaging property, threats, mischief, etc."

• **Feb. 22:** Students regain the buildings and begin strike councils with the faculty.

• **March 2:** The Federation of Students of the University of Sinaloa (FEUS) requests the resignation of the rector of the UAS, Gonzalo Armienta Calderon.

• **March 3:** Demonstration against Armienta (4,000 participants).

• **March 8:** FEUS accuses Armienta and Governor Valdes Montoya of hiring gunmen.

• **March 16:** Clashes between supporters and opponents of Armienta. 10 wounded, 3 seriously. Local Congress, banks and stores are stoned.

• **April 6:** Anti-Armienta students burn a storefront set up as a preparatory school.

• **April 7:** Widespread confrontations between students and police. Four wounded by gunshot. Rock and bottle throwing, tear gas. Molotov cocktails destroy the archives of the local Congress. Students demand the resignation of the rector and the governor.

• **April 8:** Two killed in another encounter: Maria Isabel Landeros (age 17) and Juan de Dios Quinones (age 22). Armienta presents his resignation and it is not accepted.

• **April 9:** Dr. Jesus Acedo Cardenas substitute rector. Valdes accuses troublemakers and Communist Party of Mexico and rejects charges.

• **July 21:** Police break up a demonstration of thousands of students and government and bank buildings are stoned. 150 arrested.

• **Oct. 9:** Police arrest 100 students involved in hijacking buses demanding 25,000 pesos ($2,000) damages for someone who had been run over. Confrontations with rock-throwing. Police enter the University Radio Station and arrest the manager, Victor Manuel Apodaca.

• **Oct. 17:** The Governor proposes (a) minimum pay for drivers of 60 pesos a day ($4.80); (b) profit sharing; (c) freedom of assembly without reprisal. Buses are burned.

• **Sept. 18:** At Angostura, Sinaloa, after a rally denouncing landlordism, 1,000 students and peasants with machetes and firearms attack the jail, break down the door, and free four students accused of leading occupations of farm lands.

PUEBLA

• **March 3:** Molotov cocktails and gunshots hit the house of Gabriel Jara Perez, engineer, who made charges against the Dean and two professors of the UAP, Autonomous University of Puebla (Martin Carbajal; Veiez Pliego and Luis Rivera Terrazas). Jara Perez has been accused before of hiring gangsters in the UAP.

• **April 12:** Strike in the School of Architecture. A group of students point out four professors that "use the university as a political stepping stone."

• **April 15:** Six months' leave of absence "on account of illness" to Rafael Moreno Valle, Governor of the state of Puebla, Gonzalo Bautista O'Farril, Lt.-Gov.

• **April 27:** Gun battle between students and bus drivers, stemming from the multiple bus hijack made by students protesting against a hike in bus fares (10 cents). In the encounter, Jose Vicente Aguilar Camargo, law student, is wounded in the chest by a bullet. In the following days, 8 students are arrested, charged with the hijacking of 110 buses. 400 students want an interview with the governor, who refuses. Students organize a demonstration of 6,000. Students are released and in the UAP, Autonomous University of Puebla, students release 3 bus drivers, 1 policeman and other persons.

• **MAY:** In a session at the Puebla cathedral, Archbishop Marquez y Toriz encourages the people to fight the communist infiltrations in the UAP.

• **July 21:** The principal of the preparatory school, Architect Joel Arriage, is murdered with 4 machine gun shots. The Justice Attorney, Raymundo Zamudio, states that the extreme right-wing group, Nahuatl, is responsible. The Governor promises "energetic action."

• **July 22:** Governor Rautista says: "With great sorrow I have to confess that this problem is caused by university conflicts." Police consider "the murder impossible to solve" because "it was performed by professionals and ordered by high levels of the extreme left." At the *architect* Arriaga's funeral, the speakers *attack the* Governor. The University's Dean *denounces* Archbishop Marquez y Toriz as the one who incited violence.

• **Oct. 12:** Gun shots against students guarding hijacked buses. One wounded.

• **Oct. 18:** In a meeting organized by the CTM (Mexican Workers' Union), Catholic organizations, chambers of commerce, and other organizations, the Governor says that "the jail doors should be open to faculty members of the UAP, among them the University's Dean, Sergio Flores." He supplies the justice attorney with a list of names of the perpetrators of the "crimes," and states that "in the future the government will reduce the university subsidy by the amount of the damage suffered by persons or businesses, caused by gangs or university students." The Secretary of the Regional Rural Committee of Serdan City says: "If it is necessary to be under arms we are willing to do it, we only wait for an order, Mr. Governor."

• **Oct. 19:** Protest march against the Governor. Almost 4,000 students. 93 arrested. The bus lines' owners agree to 100,000 pesos compensation to several drivers; active reintegration to others; etc. The Federation of Residential Districts threatens to seize the University and later desists "to avoid violent encounters."

• **Dec. 20:** Enrique Cabrera is murdered by multiple shots fired in front of his parents' house. The attorney Raymundo Zamudio says that at least 7 persons took part in the murder.

NUEVO LEON

• **Jan. 15:** Simultaneous assaults at the National Bank of Mexico and Commercial Bank. 180,000 pesos taken. Four of the fourteen are arrested by the police later. A suspect is an engineer and faculty member of the Autonomous University of Nuevo Leon (UANL), Jorge Ruiz Diaz.

• **Jan. 19:** A demonstration of 500 students, who consider "martyrs" the students wounded and arrested by the police in relation to the bank assaults. Preparatory students appropriate buses and denounce police brutality.

• **Jan. 21:** The leader of the Workers' Union of the UANL demands restitution by the state Justice Attorney, charging illegal procedures.

• **Jan. 22:** Three out of the four bank robbers declare that "the money was not to overthrow the government but to help the people," poor people in particular.

• **March 9:** 150 persons attack the 19 section of the railroad union, occupied by Vallejistas. Two workers and one student (Natividad Jesus Garcia, 17 years old) die; several badly wounded.

• **March 10:** Hector Ulises Leal, Dean of the UANL, Autonomous University of Nuevo Leon, heads the student funeral. The police say that shots were fired from both sides.

• **April:** Four armed men assault the school of economics of the UANL. A group of students seize the administration building and demand the Dean's resignation. Robbery in the school of agriculture. The Secretary of the UANL says that the damages done by the students holding the administration building run up to 90,000 pesos a day.

• **Sept. 11:** The police, using tear gas, reclaim the buses taken by the students. The local CTM announces a general bus drivers' strike "if the student actions don't stop."

• **Dec. 9:** The police attack students holding the University Hospital. Encounters between science students and preparatory school students. After this action, there is a manifest war. Several members of the university government board are expelled, those members decide to elect a new dean. The year ends with two university deans.

CHIHUAHUA

• **Jan. 15:** A "guerrilla commando" assaults three banks, two of the Commercial Bank of Mexico and one of the Bank of Commerce. During the assaults and the police actions that followed, Diego Lucero Martinez, Oscar Montes, Avelino Gallegos, Ramiro Diaz and Gaspar Trujillo died. This event triggers a people's reaction, facing "evidence of murders, incommunication, and torture committed against the guerrilla group." The immediate result: workers' organizations, student organizations and community groups unite and form the People's Defense Committee. The Archbishop of Chihuahua and the Bishop of Ciudad Juarez sign a declaration where they denounce "institutional violence" as the cause of the guerrilla group actions that they classify as "reply violence." Massive demonstrations follow until the beginning of April, when it is the newly formed People's Assembly that demands "the indictment and removal of the government officials responsible for the repression: Ambrosio Gutierrez, Chief of Police, and Antonio Quezada Fornell, State's Justice Attorney."

DURING 1972: Several worker struggles develop: Railroad Union Movement, MSF; STERM, Electrical Workers' Union; Chihuahua Steel Company Union; La Nacional: Independent Union of the Municipal Board of Water, etc. These struggles get support from a lot of other workers' organizations and from the Colonia Francisco Villa (a proletarian neighborhood). Some urban land seizures develop. The most important: residents of the Francisco Villa and the workers of Chihuahua Steel invade the land that surrounds the "Quintas Carolinas." Another group founded —after another land invasion—the suburb Emiliano Zapata. On July 26, a national people's tribunal is created to "indict the government officials responsible for the death of Engineer Diego Lucero and Gaspar Trujillo, and further indict the regime for the systematic utilization of repression as a form of government around the country."

STUDENTS

● **March 8:** 350 girls seize the School of Nursing in Morelos in protest against the Principal.

● **April 18:** A group assaults the People's Preparatory School of Liverpool; as a result a porrista (right wing group member paid by the government) Raymundo Olvera and six followers are arrested.

● **April 23:** Assault with gunfire in a meeting of People's Preparatory School of Tacuba. The people at the meeting fight back.

● **May 24:** In Torreon, the students of the Institute of Technology de la Laguna kidnap the Institute dean and the leader of the faculty members' union. They demand special programs.

● **May 25:** Chancellor of the Institute of Technology flees from a student meeting asking for "permission to go to the bathroom."

● **May 27:** The students ask for an interview with the education secretary in order to liberate a faculty member of the Institute of Technology.

● **June 10:** 3,000 police, anti-riot and secret agents armed with guns, tear gas, rifles and clubs, in buses, patrols, anti-riot tanks and horses, stop the anniversary demonstration for the students murdered in June, 1971. Confrontation using rocks as weapons. Several wounded. More than 50 arrested. In an official bulletin, Gen. Daniel Gutierrez Santos, Chief of Police, says "the police were unarmed and stopped the demonstration in prevention of a riot."

● **June 13:** Students seize a high school administration building. The principal is charged with fraud. It involves 100,000 pesos.

● **June 14:** The 23 students arrested are released. Only one remains in jail. Jorge Cortes Valdez, "El Sorrento." Demands for the arrest of Rafael Chaine, leader of the group Pancho Villa, charged as the one responsible for the gun battle.

● **June 14:** Teachers and students from Naucalpan College arrest two porristas (right wing group members). More than 2,000 students take them to the police station.

● **June 16:** Three witnesses charge Leon de la Selva as the one who started the gun battle on campus. The attorney's office promises an investigation.

● **Sept. 18:** Strike in the School of Agriculture in Chapingo. Reason: kidnapping of Professor Gerardo Cruz Mayluf.

● **Oct. 2:** Police patrol the city, especially in Talatelolco.

● **Oct. 7:** Students in the State of Morelia appropriate 20 buses, protesting against a hike in bus fares.

● **Oct. 23:** Meeting and appropriation of buses. The Governor stops the hike in bus fares.

● **Oct. 23:** In the State of Colima, students seize the administration building, demanding student participation in campus administration.

● **Oct. 25:** Police forces patrol the city in order to prevent a demonstration in support of Chile; this demonstration was considered illegal days before.

Autonomous University of Mexico: Students support striking University workers

THE ROCKY ROAD TO PROFITS: Chase-Manhattan V-P gloats over setting up shop in Moscow. Rockefeller may have a friend in the Kremlin, but workers will eventually chase U.S., Soviet, and all other big bosses.

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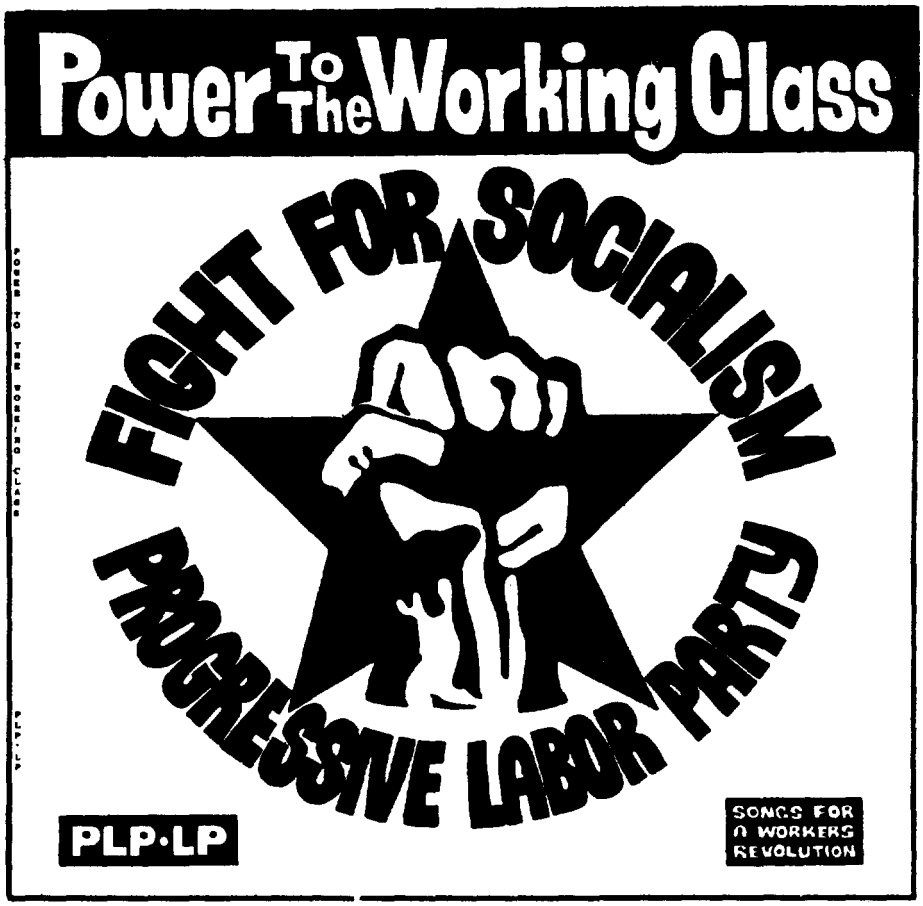

These songs were composed by working people and sung at the Progressive Labor Party May Day celebration, May 1, 1971.

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CHALLENGE

The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper

Vol. 10, No. 7 September 20, 1973 **PROGRESSIVE LABOR PARTY** 10¢

Students Nationwide Fall Term Curriculum: FIGHT THE RACISTS!

Pp. 12-15

STRIKE STRIKE STRIKE

CHRYSLER MOTORS CORPORATION

GM MARK OF EXCELLENCE

Ford

Pp. 2,3,5

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, JULY 30, 1973

A STRIKE-RIDDEN INDUSTRY

The record of major strikes in the auto industry since World War II:

1945: 200,000 workers struck General Motors for 113 days.
1948: 75,000 struck Chrysler for 17 days.
1949: 62,000 struck Ford for 25 days.
1950: 95,000 struck Chrysler for 102 days.
1955: 160,000 struck GM for 12 days; 78,000 struck Ford for 9 days.
1958: 275,000 struck GM for 26 days; 75,000 struck Ford for 13 days.
1961: 239,000 struck GM for 20 days; 116,000 struck Ford for 19 days.
1964: 275,000 struck GM for 45 days; 25,000 struck American Motors for 7 days; 11,000 struck Ford for 19 days.
1965: 11,000 struck American Motors for 20 days.
1967: 159,000 struck Ford for 65 days; 44,000 struck GM for 13 days; 17,000 struck Chrysler for 10 days.
1968: 18,000 struck GM for 13 days.
1969: 28,000 struck GM for 87 days.
1970: 355,000 struck GM for 69 days.

Only in two major bargaining years—1947 and 1953—were auto contracts signed without a strike.

2,000 Canadian Rail Strikers Storm Parliament, Tell Boss Trudeau: 'EAT SHIT!'

That's right. That's exactly what they chanted as they confronted the Canadian billionaires' state apparatus and crashed thru a wall of weak-kneed Royal Canadian Mounted Cops.

That's what Prime Minister Trudeau told French-Canadian strikers a few years ago. They returned the 'compliment' when 2,000 mostly French-speaking rail strikers stormed into the Ottawa Parliament on Aug. 30 to protest a back-to-work injunction and give Trudeau a dose of his own medicine. This kind of militancy directed at the bosses' govt. can go all the way to crush them and their system.